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THE
PERKS OF THE
POLITICIANS

CLEANING UP THE TEAMSTERS

How A Brave
Canadian
Helped Purge
Her Union's
Corrupt
Leadership

Teamster
Leader
Diana Kilmury



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 23, 1992 VOL. 155 NO. 12

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COVER

CLEANING UP THE TEAMSTERS

For most of its 80-year history, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been plagued by corruption and its leaders' links to organized crime. But after U.S. law-enforcement officials cracked down, dissident Teamsters in Canada, the United States and Puerto Rico have finally elected reformist executives, including Vancouver's tough-minded Dave Kilgus. — 26

CANADA

THE PERKS OF POWER

Quebec Conservative Guy Sautin-Jones is one of a handful of men who have called for curbs on the perks available to legislators. But his efforts have mainly earned him derision from colleagues, despite new information about the extent of the network of official perks. — 34



WORLD

THE POLITICS OF POCKETBOOKS

British Prime Minister John Major is hoping to win a fourth straight Tory majority in April 5 parliamentary elections. But the Labour Party is running even, and experts predict a minority government — with the probable outcome — with the current Liberal Democrats holding the balance of power. — 22





A Vital Opportunity

If freedom fails in Russia, we will see the title of freedom that has been sweeping over the world begin to die and dictatorship, rather than democracy, will be the voice of the future.

With that, and a series of other troubling predictions, former president Richard Nixon last week misinterpreted a pitting new theme into the heated American primary race, and his harsh message echoed clearly around the world. Nixon added: "What [have] the United States and the West done so far to help Russia's first democratic... government? We have provided credits for the purchase of agricultural products. We have held a photo-opportunity international conference of 57 foreign governments that was long on rhetoric, but short on action." Arguing that Boris Yeltsin is the most pro-Western leader in Russia's history, Nixon reasoned that without aid, he may be overthrown by a new dictator who would go to war to restore the country's former borders. As hostilities spread in Eastern Europe, rulers in countries including China, North Korea and Iraq would likely take advantage of the power vacuum to expand their influence—to the detriment of Western interests.

Nixon, who resigned in 1974 to avoid impeachment over the Watergate scandal, has traditionally displayed a

remarkable understanding of international affairs and balance-of-power politics. But his cautions are likely to fall on deaf ears in Washington, where President George Bush, his popularity plummeting in under attack for paying too much attention to foreign affairs and not enough to domestic issues, particularly the recession. Canada, too, is mired in a severe recession. But that will end in months. His projected upheaval in Russia and beyond could last a lifetime, leading to major international conflicts that would inevitably involve the West.

The responsibility for the Canadian prime minister is to try to stabilize Western efforts to help the Russian economy develop a democracy and a sound economy. The most pressing need now is for medicine, physicians and related medical help. In many parts of the country, there are literally no medical supplies and, often, untrained people masquerade as doctors to earn desperately needed money. Food is also in particularly short supply, as is expertise in almost every field associated with a free market. The opportunity to create a massive food lift and medical supply, combined with an army of Western volunteers drawn largely from the lengthening lists of the skilled and semi-skilled unemployed, cannot be missed. As Nixon wrote, "The Communists have lost the Cold War, but the West has not yet won it."

Karin Doyle

Nucleon's

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COLUMN



How to distinguish Labour from Tories

BY BARBARA AMIEL

The election in Britain is three weeks away and already a feeling of sick-
crotch and nerves prevails within the
Conservative party. Long lines
catch the admissible long shots of Tory
voters. The fear of defeat has led the Con-
servatives back, now that the reality of the voters'
choice is upon them.

The problems facing the U.K. Tories are
similar to those that George Bush faces in
America. For one thing, they have both been
around too long. In democratic politics—espe-
cially in essentially two-party systems—the
case that one party has been winning for
several terms makes the other party a more
viable contender. The situation is further
helping a case, if it comes up, that there is a
rule, you just know that the 25th term has a
better chance than 50-50 of coming up tall.

Another factor that is turning against the
Conservatives in Britain and the Republicans in
the United States is that our times have come
to resemble an older period in Western politics,
when the conservatives for political power really
did agree on most of the fundamentals. In the
early part of the 20th century, both the U.S.
Republicans and Democrats were business-
conservative, democratic, pro-law and Christian.
They would on most have questioned the
possibility of free enterprise, but most people
today would question that. The Republicans
might have been kinder on Prohibition and the
Democrats more in bed with the fundamentalists,
and I suppose the right-wing argument was
whether mankind should have been crisscrossed
on the gold or silver standard, but that was about
it.

Similarly, in Britain today, all parties agree
on the fundamentals: more jobs, better educa-
tion, better public services. Labour now sup-
ports MMR, multilateralism and prudent fiscal
policy. All parties want to pull out of the
recession with a stable government spending in
balance. There is a major disagreement about
taxes—Labour wants to raise them and the
Tories want to lower them—but in truth the

Making a case for unspectacular consensus builders: they have the capacity to do the least harm

amounts involved at this election seems more
cosmetic than substantive.

Labour's platform, which worries about so-
cialism, public borrowing, assets just like the
good Housewife Mrs Thatcher of late, is not
responsible. Instead of old socialist left about
redistribution of income and positive taxation,
Labour Leader Neil Kinnock is at pains to
reassure the business community that he be-
lieves in supply-side economics, tax incentives
and a free government as a proponent of free
enterprise. Bob Kinnock's Ontario based
accident would get short shrift from Britain's
Labour Party.

This consensus about policy has created an
unreal situation. British elections are most
commonly fought over issues—unlike Canada,
where the ideologies of the Liberals and Pro-
gressive Conservatives are generally inter-
changeable, and the elections are contests
between the personalities of the leaders. Now,
with socialism all but abandoned by the social-
ists, with Thatcherism all but extinct among
the Tories and the remnants of market capital-
ism embraced by all, the British are con-
sidering the personalities of the leaders.

Whom can they trust? Whom can they be-
lieve? Come to think of it, who and what are the

man called Neil Kinnock and this chap called
John Major? A slight sense of shame is develop-
ing here. Nothing is considered more damning
than to suggest that Britain is copying in the
"Americanisation" of politics—and personality
politics are seen as very American, indeed.
Because I am a Canadian living in London, my
telescope hasn't stopped rising since the
election was announced. "Could you," the
viewer from the vic or TV inquires anxiously,
"talk about how our elections are coming to
resemble the ones over there?"

What interests me is the question raised
earlier: whom can one trust when the re-
spected policies of all sound pretty much the
same? And how should one trust a socialist
party that has discredited virtually every plank
of its platform? Kinnock is the man who came to
power as a radical left-winger, who in the
1970s advocated the confederation of all nations
over \$22,500, who was a staunch supporter of
the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament until a
couple of years ago and who was known for his
anti-Americanism, anti-business attitudes and
his attack that when he is in the same room as
royalty, he wants to throw up. Today, he
speaks sweetly with the Queen and is as
business-friendly as Lee Harvey.

I suppose one should be a little bit more
than by 1992, a socialist leader in England has
lost the fact that the very "people" in whom
he personally and mystically believes don't
want socialism. But one has to wonder how
deep his conversion is. How has he managed to
get all the members of his party on the road
to conservatism? grossly the same time. Mean-
while, the dumping of socialist baggage leaves
Kinnock with serious questions concerning
his beliefs: am I spent several hours
talking to his last week and came away baffled.
The man is pleasant, robust and far more
serious in person than one would imagine, but
I haven't a clue about the documents he hears.

As for Major, well, we are told he is the
"grey" man and very wise. Indeed, predict that
as prime minister with a mandate of his own, he
will be fiscally Thatcherite and far more left-
wing on social and political issues. As a philosophical
journalist, I rather like to say to people: "You
say" such non-fosterable, pragmatic leaders
are generally not associated with great disas-
ters. Unless one really feels that the conserva-
tism of a person are necessary for a given
period of time, or that the person is the
best of all for both Thatcher and
Ronald Reagan—7-11 for supportable con-
servative builders on the grounds that they
have the capacity to do the least harm.

What will the British voter do? Sorry, haven't
a clue. In my heart, I think that the Conser-
vatives may win a narrow triumph with a working
majority of 20 seats, but then politics and the
heart are not reliable indicators. Speaking in
a leading conservative column in the U.K.
States last week, I got a much plainer
perspective: "The prospect of the first Kinnock
Christian vote," he said, "leads to painful
thoughts." Put that way, I should all be de-
lighted and pray that the British will remember
those anti-ideology Labour voters of discon-
tent and do the right-wing thing.

meets every one of their proponents. "Ask me if we are worth our salary," says Mills, a wealthy Toronto-area businessman, "and I say that we work hard enough to deserve twice that."

But the bare salary paid to an MP in any part of the overall compensation package. In addition, every member of the House of Commons receives a \$22,300 annual tax-free allowance—the equivalent of more than \$43,000 taxable income.

In addition, MPs enjoy a wide range of so-called "allowances and services," the details of which are contained in a 476-page manual sent to every member of the House of Commons. Those privileges include 84 return business-class air tickets for an MP and the members of his or her immediate family, unlimited travel and hotel access to government-subsidized restaurants, a barbershop, picture-framing and optician services and a printing shop. As Reform party leader Preston Manning told Maclean's last week: "We have on particular quibble with the salaries that MPs receive. But the list of benefits has to change—and the people need make sure that it does."

But the most valuable benefit—and target of the harshest criticism—is the parliamentary pension plan. Under the current provisions, an MP who has sat in the Commons for at least six years is eligible to collect a pension as soon as he leaves office. That means an MP first elected in 1984 would receive a minimum of \$18,000 a year, reduced in inflation, for the rest of his life.

regardless of how long he lives. Those with more than 15 years of experience receive 75 per cent of their salary. The benefits increase drastically as the cabinet ministers' (because payments are based on the minister's average income during his last six years of earnings). Among those who could potentially receive large benefits under the plan is 35-year-old

former careers to enter politics. They also point to the mental and physical stress that results from dividing their lives between Ottawa and their home ridings, where their families usually live. Lapierre, who is divorced and has two children, aged 13 and 8, blames the constant commuting for the loneliness of his marriage. Lapierre says that he has not yet decided whether he will run in the next election—but he adds that he has no intention to make for the value of his pension (Declares Lapierre). "These were the terms that were set when I decided to become an MP, and they are deserved ones."

But many observers—including some MP—argue that politicians do themselves and their voters a disservice by accepting such benefits. Says Fleming: "People don't feel that it is fair that MPs are allowed to set their own salaries and benefits. And as long as that situation exists, it is not in their view of everything else that Parliament does."

Adding Toronto-area Conservative MP Patrick Boyer, who advocates a sweeping series of reforms that, among other things, would reduce the operating costs of Parliament: "People don't understand from there MP, and they are right. We must change or become irrelevant." But for now, at least, that message is one that few liberal politicians seem to want to hear—and even fewer wish to act upon.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH with GLEN ALLEN and MARY WOOD in Ottawa

Bill Quilley House Leader Jean Lapierre, who served as a junior minister in the Liberal cabinet for three months in 1984. He would collect more than \$3.5 million if he left parliament before the next election and lived to 75 years of age.

Many MP defend the pension plan because, they say, political careers are less certain than others and they also need compensation for the losses they suffer when they interrupt

careers from some of the policy's 25 trustees members. Looking only to cover the cost of day-day expenses, they argued that they could not continue to function without some substantial services. Says trustee Campbell Morrison, who covers national affairs for such publications as *Rolling Stone*, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*: "Without that, I wouldn't have made it." Says 1981: "For the last 10 years, Ottawa writer John Sawatzky acknowledges that he occasionally needs use of free telephone lines and parliamentary caterers. Says Sawatzky: "There is some validity to what Lapierre has been saying, but I don't think anyone can say that the media has gone crazy on the government because we have our facilities." In Sawatzky's case, that argument appears convincing: he is the author of a recent bestselling, highly critical biography of the Prime Minister, Mulroney: *The Politics of Ambition*.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

Truth and consequences

A cabinet minister insists that she lied

Politicians usually lie when they are accused of lying. But Shirley MacLean, who until recently appeared to be enjoying the most brilliant of political careers following the Ontario New Democratic's stunning election victory in September, 1990, Premier Bob Rae made her the youngest cabinet minister in the province's history. She was even touted here as a future party leader. But by last week, events had clearly conspired to knock MacLean, the NDP's 28-year-old minister of northern development and mines, off her star trajectory. For weeks, MacLean has been the subject of a coordinated legislative inquiry in which her vindication seemed to rest on her ability to prove that she did not know what she knew when choosing a doctor at a cocktail party last December. And the strange story of a politician's struggle to convince an inquiry that she had not told the truth made MacLean and Rae's government—targets of widespread ridicule. Declared University of Toronto professor Michael Bink: "She's a minister whose lower depends on proving she was a liar. The idea of government as a kind of circus is something we haven't had before in Ontario."

Although MacLean is expected to retain her cabinet post after the inquiry delivers its report next month, even her own NDP colleagues say that the scandal has seriously scarred her political career. The Saturday, Oct. 6, politician's problems began last year when the NDP announced that the Ontario Health Enhancement Plan (HEP) would fully fund a doctor's billings to a ceiling of \$400,000—and that any billings above that amount would be reimbursed for as little as one-third of their value. Doctors in Northern Ontario responded by lobbying the government for exceptions to the limit. And one doctor in particular, Sudbury dermatologist Jean-Pierre Donahue, ignored MacLean by repeatedly citing his ethics and claiming that, as a consequence of the NDP's policy, he could no longer afford to pay his staff of 16 and his wife, who had been his secretary.

Then, at a mining industry party on Dec. 5 as Thunder Bay, MacLean landed in a heated exchange about Donahue with a local politician, Evelyn Dodd, who happens to be a former Conservative party candidate. Days later, Dodd told the revelation party—claiming that MacLean had attacked Donahue, saying: "I see his life. He's going to lose it sympathy for him when you find out how many charges we lay against him." Opposition members angrily demanded MacLean's resignation. But Rae defended those demands by agreeing to an inquiry into MacLean's conduct and whether she had in fact been party to any sinister information about the doctor's earnings.

Indeed, one director Dr. Robert MacMillan

testified during the televised hearings that a confidential memo about Donahue's practice had found its way into the hands of health ministry bureaucrats and political aides on Health Minister Frances Laidlaw's staff. But MacLean claimed that he retrieved the memo before it circulated wider. He added that, to the best of his knowledge, MacLean did not receive any confidential information about doctors' billings from him or his staff.



MacLean even her NDP colleagues say that the scandal has hurt her politically

MacLean, in two days of exhaustive testimony last week, MacLean repeated earlier testimony that she had made up of her own charges pending against Donahue. "I lost it," MacLean said, explaining her behavior. She added that she did it only after being "goaded" at the end of "an awful day." To bolster her claim that she is telling the truth when she says that she was lying, MacLean took a bi-detector test last month, and veteran polygrapher Ben Silverberg says that it supports the minister's position. Last week, even most of the NDP's own members on the panel of 12 jurors seemed to accept MacLean's account. And while some maintained that the minister should resign for misleading the doctor, to whom she has apologized, others were remarkably sympathetic. Said Conservative MP Charles Sturges: "There is nothing to be gained by attacking a best part of her politics as her youth and inexperience."

MacLean may be young, but she is by no means

politically inexperienced. The second of four children born to Elie Martel, a legendary New Democratic MP who sat on the opposition benches for 20 years representing the working-class riding of Sudbury East, she learned politics at her father's side. After completing a BA in international relations at the University of Toronto in 1985, Martel studied French at the Sorbonne in Paris. She then worked for the Ontario Workers' Compensation Board before joining her father's politics in an election victory in his old riding in 1987.

Now, observers of all political stripes say that Rae may not have served the rookie minister well to the current scandal. According to some insiders, Martel would have stepped out of the scandal because policy—but she did not. In one Rae said that the government wanted to avoid another cabinet casualty—five



MacLean even her NDP colleagues say that the scandal has hurt her politically

ministers dismissed have resigned under a cloud or were dismissed in the government's first 17 months. But others say that Rae should have accepted Martel's resignation and thus responded to the cabinet crisis—no he did with cabinet minister Evelyn Gagnon after she, in health minister, released confidential patient information.

Instead, some New Democrats said privately that Martel may have been left to face the inquiry to deflect attention from his loss in Laidlaw's office, and even members of the premier's staff, who could have been given to the "one look," "She was left to walk," said one NDP official, "knowing full well the impact it would have on his focus." Indeed, whatever impact it may have on Martel and the NDP's future, it is certain to fuel public skepticism about the ways of politicians.

PHIL KATILA

'THE GENIE IS OUT OF THE BOTTLE'

For the 365 Ottawa-based journalists who belong to the parliamentary press gallery, reporting about the spending habits of politicians is a new thing, but putting down their houses in order appears to be neither. According to a House of Commons estimate last November, that media representatives who cover the nation's business and industry as an estimated \$750,000 a year in benefits, ranging from free office accommodations in the Parliament Buildings and free dinner and telephone calls to newspaper access and parking. Under pressure, the government worried that figures last week to less than \$300,000. Still, the question of publicly funded benefits has recently sparked vigorous debate among gallery members. Says Ray LeFevre, Ottawa bureau chief for *The Canadian Press* who

serves, "The genie is out of the bottle. This has the potential to put our integrity and credibility on the line."

Most major news organizations, including Maclean's, send staffers again in federal buildings near Parliament Hill and pay off their own costs. But some journalists—primarily freelancers and employees of smaller or non-traditional news outlets—regularly use the facilities of a free 60-room hotel once known as the "hot service" at the Centre Block, located one floor above the House of Commons. Other services are also available to all gallery members, among them 84 benefits and a north-garrisoned some news executives say that the time has come to stop using such services—especially since they regularly contact cabinet ministers for meeting similar benefits. Indeed, the *Canadian Press*, the *Southern News Service* and the *Ottawa Citizen* are already discussing their employees from using some benefits.

But on Feb. 10, following a bitter debate, press gallery members were again asked to end the benefits. The tallest politician

Who killed Gail Miller?

A rapist denies guilt at the Milgaard review

The self-spoken rapist with salt-and-pepper hair sat calmly at the witness box as his recent release from prison and brutality. At 42, Larry Fisher says that he is only now beginning to come to terms with the traumatic abuse that led him to commit a series of violent sexual attacks. As a child, he told the Supreme Court of Canada last week, he was sexually and physically molested on numerous occasions by three older women—including his mother and an aunt. Since then, he said, he has harbored a fierce resentment towards women, experiencing a flash of power only when he traps and rapes them. During five hours of testimony over two days, Fisher freely discussed the chilling details of some sexual assaults for which he has served more than of the past 21 years in prison. But Miller also strongly denied any involvement in a rape and murder case that officially resembled some of his other crimes and was committed within a few hours of his arrival at two of his assaults. That case was the 1969 Stouffville drugging and murder of a young woman, Gail Miller, for which another man—David Edgar Milgaard—was serving a life sentence.

Milgaard, 36, has always insisted that he is innocent of Miller's murder. His 40-year-old attorney, Joyce, who led the campaign to have the Supreme Court review Milgaard's conviction, is among a growing number of people who have publicly suggested that Fisher is a man likely to suggest a possibility that was also raised in a 1990 television documentary about the case. And as the government ordered a review whether Milgaard was properly cleared from his last victim last week, the central issue clearly shifted from Milgaard's trial to the guilt or innocence of Fisher.

In 1981, the court heard that there were strong similarities between the circumstances of Miller's death and the assaults for which Fisher has confessed. Milgaard and Fisher both have the same blood type as the rapist, according to a report written by Neil Boyd, a criminology professor at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., and submitted in evidence. Boyd also said that, of the two men, only Fisher is right-handed, and he maintained that the stain records and slush marks on the victim were most likely inflicted by a right-handed person. As well, Boyd



Milgaard: suggestions that another man is the murderer

asserted that several of Fisher's victims wore hospital-type uniforms. And while Fisher denied that he had selected his victims on that basis, he acknowledged to court that as a child he had been frustrated by women who ignored his desires of abuse.

Milgaard's 1971 conviction was based largely on the testimony from two of his teenage companions and a third friend, Albert Collins, whose parents' house they visited in Stouffville on the day of Miller's murder. In a strange twist, the court heard last week that at the time, Fisher, then 19, and his young wife and baby were renting a basement apartment in that house, only a few blocks from the murder scene. Milgaard's friends at first told police

that he did not commit the murder, but each later testified against him. The three friends told the Supreme Court earlier this year that they changed their stories 15 years ago only after grueling questioning by police.

Under questioning by Milgaard's lawyer, Herb Walsh of Winnipeg, Fisher acknowledged that he usually selected his victims on the street or on a bus, and that he dragged them into his home before raping them. He also told the court that he had threatened many of his victims with a knife—a young boy was used to murder Miller—and that he had slit the throat of a 56-year-old woman in North Battleford, Sask., while on the way in 1980. He is now serving a 10-year sentence for that crime in Maximum Institution, a medium-security prison in Agassiz, B.C. Fisher also acknowledged that he usually forced his victims to sodomize and he forced on their coats before sexually assaulting them, and that he generally pulled a sweater or a blouse over their faces. Walsh suggested to Fisher that he had covered the faces of his victims "because if a victim can identify you, you may be forced to seriously harm him, or if that night"—to which Fisher replied, "Yes, sir."

Earlier in the hearing, the five-panel review of Milgaard's conviction heard evidence that the 30-year-old Miller's body had been found partially undressed, lying face-down in an alley near the Colman's Inn Motel, where Walsh suggested to Fisher that all of the clues pointed to him, and that he had killed Miller because she may have seen his face. Fisher's response was categorical: "You can make all the accusations you want, Mr. Walsh," the rapist declared. "I'm telling you I did not commit that crime."

At that point in the proceedings, Chief Justice Antonio Lamer intervened in the questioning. He gently warned Fisher that his testimony could not be used against him if he were to be charged with Miller's murder. Then, in a sympathetic tone, the chief justice said: "You were a very sick person. It's not like you were committing a burglary or robbing a bank. [The report] has something to do with your illness. I think we all understand that." There was a tense silence in the courtroom as Lamer asked again if Fisher had been involved in any way in the assault on Miller. That Fisher, who is scheduled to be released from prison in late May, had testified falsely "has nothing to do with the Gail Miller murder, sir, and I have no negative opinion as to that department." For Lamer and the four other Supreme Court justices, that has become the critical issue to be decided after the review resumes on April 6.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa



Milgaard, Maner's discontent in the Terry case was a challenge to nation building

Setting a new deadline

The provinces and natives force Ottawa's hand

It was the latest in a series of sudden shifts in the federal government's constitutional strategy. At issue: the long-standing native request for full participation at the constitutional negotiating table, a request that Ottawa has always opposed. But that strategy has clearly been denied. The 16 provincial governments and associations that now represent the provinces to the Ottawa process forced Clark to expand the process to include them in a series of multilateral meetings, beginning this week. In agreeing to that demand, Clark abandoned Ottawa's plan to present a final proposal to the provinces by mid-April instead, he extended the deadline to the end of May. Said Clark, as the eve of a speculative constitutional conference: "No one set any artificial deadlines, but we can't ignore real ones."

Early in Quebec and as the nation's capital only underscored the challenges facing Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government. With Premier Robert Bourassa leaping to his pledge to boycott federal provincial meetings—a senior Quebec civil servants admitted the difficulties, but only as observers—he rising Liberals and the opposition Parti Québécois continued to demand Quebec City was now a place of co-operation. In response to a 94-man Quebec legislative vote 107 to 3 to sign the report of the Dobbs-Beauregard parliamentary

committee on renewed federalism—all but killing Ottawa's plan to hold its own proposals in the committee's recommendations. Although the Liberals welcomed the motion, changing "reject" to "disapprove," the vote was a clear attempt to pressure English Canada into offering more powers to Quebec.

Some analysts said that Bourassa's departure just before the vote was a sign to a community honoring Canada's medal-winning Olympic athletes who live in Quebec—a sign that the anglophone court remained open. Still, the National Assembly vote left several Quebec federalists distinctly uncomfortable. The province's international affairs minister, John Gosselin, for one, declined to vote with the Bloc Québécois. "The 94 votes sovereignty. I want to vote to keep Quebec in Canada."

Discontent also erupted within the federal Tory caucus. According to a senior federal official, Mulroney rebuffed National Defence Minister Marcel Masse "in white-hot anger" after the maverick Quebecer. They asserted that Quebecers would not accept the Dobbs-Beauregard report because it failed to satisfy Quebec's demands for new powers—a contribution of Mulroney's own endorsement of the report. Mulroney also expressed his shock back to Ottawa from Florida, forcing his trusted Quebec lieutenant to cut short his two-week vacation a day early to co-chair the federal-provincial meeting.

Later, Mulroney's aides tried to give down the significance of Ottawa's changes in direction, including the desire to allow the provinces back into the constitutional fray. Said a senior Mulroney adviser: "The provinces have been drawn into this collective approach to work with us. That is something we wanted, and we're pleased it happened this quickly." Clark, meanwhile, said that the abrupt shift in his government's approach was a sign of "an awareness"—although he acknowledged that others "would characterize [it] in other ways."

In spite of that optimistic tone, the provincial representatives who gathered in Ottawa last week felt little doubt that the collective approach could still end in failure. Bourassa, for one, said that Albertus was "abandoned" by Ottawa's proposal for a referendum. But he would not make explicit representation from all provinces. Newfoundland Premier Clive Pickles, in particular, said that he was "appalled" that the federal government intended to treat all 10 provinces equally—and he repeated previous assertions that he will oppose a constitutional vote offered only to Quebec. And E.C. Constitutional Affairs Minister Mike Sison warned that English-Canadians cannot be pushed too far on the issue of distinctiveness status for Quebec. Indeed, he predicted a two-year round of expensive public consultation and open-door negotiations, the obstacles to be overcome remain formidable—and the government's goal of a constitutional solution seems in doubt at best.

R. KARE FULFORD with GARRY CAMS in Ottawa and ANTHONY WALSH SMITH in Montreal

Patriotism by committee

Not every Canadian is 'an O Canada guy'

Why is it a country with poets galore, from *Alfred in Exile* and more by the score, that all kinds of trouble arise when it's the time to sing the kind (is it and its love)? It's not that love by committee's a love?

Or is it simply that most Canadians, including those who cannot control their own words when they hear O Canada, hate blaring out their feelings in public? Or that there is always some stage or dissonant segment of population that feels alien to any attempt at a pledge of allegiance—that's American, eh?—or a defining national declaration? And that they find it embarrassing, even indecent, when anyone, including a parliamentary committee, or the nation's leaders, dares to talk about patriotism?

Despite that, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney dares to declare himself earlier this month while visiting Quebec on his way to the lower town of Baie d'Urfé and other Quebec towns had requested the National Arts Centre Orchestra, during a stay tour, to return from playing O Canada. Declared Mulroney "I'm an O Canada guy all the way." Pierre Trudeau, a great and his prime ministership in 1969, came closer to the prevailing preference for understated patriotism when he allowed: "I've got a gut feeling for Canada." And even John Diefenbaker sounded a note of caution when, in prime minister in 1957, on what was called Dominion Day, he backhandedly confessed in the House of Commons to being devoted to the country he led. "I know there are some who feel a sense of embarrassment in expressing pride in their nation, perhaps because of the fear that they might be considered old-fashioned or provincial," he said. "I do not belong to that group."

A group that has now failed ministerial management in the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on a Revised Canada. Its 10 members and 30 MPs adopted "a statement of Canada's identity and values" as a proposed preamble to a revised Constitution made it worked to meet an end-of-the-century deadline for completing its recommendations.

The five-volume project, that the committee accepted but not competing compositions offered as preamble, or as an opening "Canada clause." The committee's chief author is committee member John Rimmer, 36, a Conservative MP for Kitchener, Ont., a Maclean's editor who has helped

as an extraordinary committee of religious, poetic and political advisors. His accompanying draft Canada clause was rejected. Urged on by a sense of duty to finish its task on time, the committee accepted Rimmer's preamble in a compromise with some members who balked at his Canada clause as being politically incorrect.

Rimmer's Canada clause not opposition but because it included "respect for life" in a list of values that "Canada affirm." Muddled that Rimmer is a "right-to-life" campaigner in the abortion debate, and because the Canada clause—called the preamble—would carry legal weight in the courts, opponents objected.

"The masterpiece of a Canadian's patriotism is not life, but life."

—Robertson Davies, 1948

The more precise Canada clause worked out by the committee, which includes a stronger commitment to native self-government as well as Quebec's "distinct society" clause, contrasts

as "respect-for-life" reference. Rimmer's draft Canada clause was shelved to an appendix at the back of the report, along with two other draft proposals, all noted as having been "submitted by the committee." A second set of poets Canada clause composed by the Western Union of Canada receives only a mention.

"I am in the not remote distance of a great nationality, like the dawn of Achaia, by the blue rise of ocean."

—D'Arcy McGee, 1860

The mythical world of Archaia, that the rightist McGee evoked was a gloriously crafted work that, the poet Homer wrote in the *Iliad*, conjured up visions of earth and the heavens, human achievement and struggle. But McGee, in forwarding a single sentence of his own to see to see, could not have imagined Canada's greatest struggles—nor the literary arguments over the words in a Constitution that he was today design as one of the Pillars of Confederation.

The document that the Fathers designed, the British North America Act, 1867, gets right down to business without adornment. "An Act for the Union of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and the Government thereof, and for Purposes connected therewith." Its present incarnation in the *Constitution Act, 1982*, is a 23-page, plain-English paragraph just over two-thirds the dimensions of its magazine that opens with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Its preamble is curt, but sweeping enough to say it all. "Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law." But does, right away, the language of *quidlibet* and *quodlibet* detracts from as he now begins. The guarantees of rights and freedoms are accompanied by "such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society."

The devaluing disease of overly circumspection and language is contagious. Even the field draft possible now being considered by the government has already been sub-



Pitman at his keyboard: scribbling the Canadian preface for all-piling disputes over lyrics in the national hymn

jected to fine-tuning. Possibly as an act of forbearance to the ink was barely dry on the bulky committee report when Rimmer began revising a word here and there at the suggestion of colleagues. After its publication as part of the committee's constitutional recommendations on March 1, Rimmer printed up his fine-tuned, patriotic on paper decorated with maple leaves and the shrub of the province and the territories. In the preamble's seventh line, his repetitive version altered "divergent peoples" to "first people" and, in the second-last line, "our land" became "our land."

By chance, on the evening of the day that the parliamentary committee published its report, the CTV network aired a documentary program on the making of new symbols, shared and pre-made arrangements of O Canada. Metaphorically, there are many versions of both the English and French lyrics—and a truly multilingual version in which a chiton hymn, without a list of accents, along with the orchestra.

But the patriotic card, over which Parliament debated for eight years during the 1970s before making it the legal national anthem in 1980, is at least, in conformity with the Constitution. For years after it was composed in 1880—to the behest of Quebec's St. Jean Baptiste Society—by conductor-composer Calixa Lavallée to lyrics by Adolphe Basile Bo-

cher, the hymn was sung by English Canada. Now it is accented by Quebec nationalists. Performed in a mixture of English and French, the authors often provides protests among

both language groups. And contralto Maurice Perreault grumbled complaints when, during the last of five song conferences in Vancouver last month, she sang in English only. The English lyrics, adopted by Parliament from words by poet R. Stanley Weir in 1968, are attached for being "too 'creative' and 'artistic' for being military" (said on guard) for, for singing God for for doing an only once and for singing the East, the West and the South ("our North").

O CANADA

O Canada!

Our home and native land!

True power leads to all thy sons command

With glowing hearts we see thee rest,

The True North across our breast!

From far and wide, O Canada, we stand on guard for thee.

God keep our land glorious and free!

O Canada, we stand on guard for thee.

O Canada, we stand on guard for thee.

(Bill C-36, adopted 1982)

POLITICALLY CORRECT O CANADA

Oh Canada,

Our diverse and common place of residence,

True strength of multiculturalism, a watershed,

In everybody's hands respect

With glowing organs we observe thy concordance

The true, relatively most important and authentic

From countenance experiences—oh, Canada—we're

looking out for thee.

May the new geographical spirit maintain our

geographical roots, along with incentive and liberality

To Canada, we're looking out for thee

To Canada, we're looking out for thee

dissemination, dispersed, represented, understood, differently

looking, off to right, preferentially over individuals

and group actions and their

(Michael Pitman, Fredericton, 1992)

CAROL MULLINS and

JOSEF PUCHNER in

Ontario

POCKETBOOK POLITICS

When British Prime Minister John Major left his official residence a few minutes before noon last Wednesday, he seemed to speak to a dozen schoolchildren waiting outside. One of them asked him how he liked living at 10 Downing Street. "I like it very much indeed," Major said with a smile. "It's a very nice place to live." Then, the prime minister climbed into the back of his black Bentley limousine for a ritual trip to nearby Buckingham Palace that set in motion the machinery that will decide whether he will continue to enjoy living at No. 10—or must hand over the keys to his chief rival, Labour Leader Neil Kinnock. Major formally asked the Queen for permission to dissolve Parliament and do what almost every British political analyst had predicted for weeks: call an election for April 8.

The election date may have come as a surprise, but the outcome of the vote will be the least predictable since the mid-1970s. In

BRITAIN'S Tories FACE A TOUGH FIGHT AGAINST LABOUR PARTY RIVALS IN AN APRIL ELECTION

Britain's past three elections, Major's predecessor as Conservative leader, Margaret Thatcher, led her party into battle with commanding leads over Labour—as much as 14 percentage points—and stumbled for no apparent reason. Major's Tories are now handicapped by Britain's deepest recession in decades. They entered the campaign virtually neck-and-neck with Kinnock's Labour Party, which leads in most polls by a solid two or three percentage points. Said David Butler, a veteran political scientist at Oxford University who has analyzed every British election since 1951: "There has never been an election which is as wide open."

Traditionally, voting intentions do not change during British campaigns by more than a couple of points. As a result, Butler and many other experts say that a minority government—what the British call a "hung Parliament"—is the most probable outcome. That could lead to months of political uncertainty and lead the balance of power to smaller parties, particularly the centrist Liberal Democrats led by longtime Royal Marine commander



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about \$33 billion, roughly twice the current level. Thatcher's former economic adviser, Sir Alan Walters, left no doubt about the latter feelings that the budget crossed among Thatcher's lieutenants. "Thatcherism, alas, died in 1991, and these are the hard times of Thatcherism," Walters told a BBC television interviewer. But if Major's government, he added, will Thatcherism, Major himself makes an unlikely privilege. Thatcher promoted his rapidly during her first two years in office, and he was her own choice during the contest to succeed her. But Major, who turns 49 on March 30, quickly shed many of his most controversial policies, such as the reviled poll tax that sparked riots across Britain when it was introduced two years ago. And he attempted to steel Labour's political clothes by cultivating a more caring, socially conscious image for the Tories through donating most money to shelters for the homeless and helping representatives at humanitarian goals. That Major has never shaken his grey, authoritarian leader's image. One enduring story about him is that he lacks the start-up to his underpinnings. As political columnist Andrew Rossiter of the *Guardian* wrote recently, "He knows the truth for sure enough. Major and his Tories, but he lacks the will to do it."

Major's chief rival for leadership at 10 Downing Street is Kinnock, the 49-year-old Labour leader who has also moved his party towards the centre—although for different reasons. Kinnock was once a champion of Labour's red-hot left wing, which advocated policies such as unilateral nuclear disarmament. British withdrawal from the European Community and restoration of state-owned industries would be by Thatcher's Tories. But the shock of the 1987 conservative defeat has convinced Labour to abandon those policies and position themselves as responsible economic managers.

Skeptics question the sincerity of Kinnock's new conversion. Others point to his lack of government experience, he has spent almost all of his career inside the Labour Party, and the only other time he has ever managed the Carli University Students Union. After eight years as opposition leader, the April election is almost certainly Kinnock's last chance at power. His personal popularity ratings have always lagged behind those of his party, and most experts think that he would be replaced as leader within months should Labour lose.

The convergence of the two major parties has made the British campaign, in many ways, less vital to the nation's fate. In the past, Britain's traditional class-based politics turned election contests into battles over the country's fundamental core. Under Thatcher, in particular, elections assumed the role of ideological showdowns between capitalism and socialism—at least on the rhetorical level. That Thatcher succeeded in shifting the centre focus of British politics to the right, forcing Labour to move closer to the centre, has been a policy. Many analysts cite Kinnock's newly moderate Labour Party as, paradoxically, one of Thatcher's chief challenges.

At the same time, say other observers, the

PRESSURING IRAQ

Accusing Iraq of repeatedly trying to avert its inspectors a charge of finding and developing its weapons, the United Nations Security Council demanded that Iraq comply immediately with previous Gulf War ceasefire resolutions. U.S. and British officials did not rule out new air strikes against potential weapons sites.

GEORGIA ON HIS MIND

Three days after returning to his native Georgia to take a political role in its future, former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze was appointed chairman of the new State Council, which will wield legislative and executive power until a general election is held.

A DEVASTATING QUAKE

Russian officials appealed for food and funds to help survivors of an earthquake that, according to early reports, killed at least 500 people and possibly more than 1,000. The quake levelled high-rise buildings in the southern city of Erzurum. It triggered avalanches and destroyed dwellings in 11 provinces.

PRIVATIZATION AND CONSEQUENCES

One of the last vestiges of Soviet capitalism, Privatization, the official newspaper of the formerly all-powerful party, suspended publication, unable to pay its mounting debts.

CANADIAN PEACEKEEPERS

After fresh outbreaks of fighting between the Serbian and Yugoslav army and Croatian forces, an advance party of 28 Canadian soldiers from Germany arrived in the war-torn Balkan country to prepare for the deployment of a 1,200-member Canadian force of United Nations peacekeepers.

SOUTH AFRICA IN TURMOIL

More than 200 blacks were killed in two weeks of violence in Johannesburg in advance of this week's nationwide referendum. In the bloodiest assault, fighting among racial blacks killed 18 people and wounded 22 others outside Durban.

CLEARING KUWAIT

Thirteen months after the end of the Persian Gulf War, Kuwaiti officials are finally clear of all Iraqi troops. A spokesman for Royal Ordnance, a British Aerospace subsidiary, said the contract to the Kuwaiti government, and that his group had removed one million crates and 5,000 tons of ammunition from the emirate.

THE TORY RECORD

Major's extensive reelection win has glorified him more than in 1977, when the Conservatives were returned to office after 18 years in opposition.



SOURCE: COMPTON CONTROLLING SYSTEMS LTD.

lowering of Britain's political temperature reflects important changes in its social make-up. A generation ago, working-class voters swung steadfastly to Labour despite its leadership and policy changes. Meanwhile middle- and upper-class voters were similarly aligned with the Conservatives. But in recent years, class lines have blurred in ways that expanded traditional blue-collar jobs declined—making with party loyalties. Anthony King, a professor of government at the University of Essex, says that voters who once cleaved to a political party with the dogged loyalty of soccer fans are now comparatively few. "The 1992 election," King wrote last week, "will be decided by thousands of men and women who resemble puffed shoppers rather than football-club supporters."

As a result, the election will be fought mainly on moderate pocket-book issues. Chief among them are the Conservatives' chickened economic record and the civil partners' continuing policies on taxation. Labour leaders argue that the much-vaunted Thatcher revolution of the 1980s, when Tories boasted that they had reversed decades of British economic decline, was a mirage. They point to rising unemployment, soaring homelessness and a 2.5-per-cent decrease in national output last year—the biggest slipper since the 1930s. Unfortunately for the Conservatives, the recession has been hardest in southern England, its own electoral heartland. Plunging house prices, boarded-up stores and growing unemployment among white-collar workers have shaken the loyalty of the type of voters who give Thatcher her three major victories. Major decided against calling an election last year after Labour advised him that economic recovery would be in full swing by now. But the recession has proven to be much more protracted than government experts had predicted. Because of that, Conservatives prefer to



Ashdown with wife Jane: Liberal Democrats may hold the balance of power

contrast their modest tax cuts with Labour's promise to raise taxes. Kenneth's party has pledged to increase income taxes on higher-paid incomes from the current top bracket of 40 per cent to an effective rate of 50 per cent in order to finance new provision public services. They party chairman Christopher Patten modeled Labour's approach last week by calling it "Watch my lips—lots more taxes"—a parody of U.S. President George Bush's famous 1988 "no new taxes" pledge.

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GRACE UNDER PRESSURE

In early February, Paddy Ashdown spent most of a day mingling with candidates and other politicians at the Oxford "New Politics" seminar. Although other participants did not know it, Ashdown, leader of Britain's Liberal Democrats, was already heading himself for a scolding. Someone had leaked a document from his lawyer's office which disclosed that Ashdown had at least after with his secretary five years ago. While 48 hours, he would choose to reveal the affair publicly. But at Oxford, Ashdown concealed any reason over his personal crisis. "He must have been under immense stress," says David Butler, the Oxford political analyst who organized the seminar. "But there was no sign of it. It's a bit strange, isn't it?"

Ashdown, 51, will swear off that cool if, as

many analysts predict, his party holds the balance of power at Britain's House of Commons after the April 9 election. The revelation about his affair appears not to have hurt his chances. Ashdown acknowledged that the publicity had been "extremely painful" for him and his wife of 30 years, Jane, but his party rallied around him, and other politicians chose not to make it an issue. Polls showed that Ashdown's personal popularity even increased.

Ashdown's background is the most exotic of any of Britain's major party leaders. He has been known as Paddy (his real name is Jeremy) since his boarding school days because he was raised in Northern Ireland, although he claims no trace of an Irish accent. He left school at 16, and became a captain in the Special Boat Service, an elite Royal Marine commando force. After fighting commando guerrillas in Borneo in the early 1960s, Ashdown spent three years learning Chinese in Hong Kong. Later, he joined Britain's diplomatic corps and was posted to Geneva which, according to some reports, was a cover for service with

Britain's design intelligence agency. Ashdown will not say if that is true.

First elected to the Commons in 1983, he won his party's leadership in 1990 at a time when it was divided, disorganized—and could not even register on a name. Ashdown guaranteed it done it from the commonsense label "Liberal and Social Democrats" to simply Liberal Democrats. More importantly, he managed to give the party coherent policies, combining right-wing economic views with left-leaning social policies and a strong commitment to electoral reform.

Ashdown also drew on his military experience to present a strong personal image during the Gulf War, which added respect for his leadership and bolstered support for his party. This election may leave him with considerable influence in the next Parliament—as may crash his political hopes at victory last year with Labour or Conservatives to try to swing a close race.

A. P.

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Tales of disenchantment in Motor City

The most enthusiastic crowds were for Jerry Brown wants to dismantle the political system

In Dearborn, the Detroit suburb where the Ford Motor Co. presides over the city's life from its world headquarters in an underground tower of green-tinted glass, Patrick Buchanan had just learned that his rebellious right-wing presidential bid was running out of gas. Gilded in a penthouse hotel suite, the conservative commentator had watched as his weekly audience of private radio adults stated his challenge to President George Bush. Not only had he failed to win a single one of the eight closest states, but he had emerged with only 46 delegates to this summer's Republican nominating convention, compared with Bush's 368. Still, sick and squinting with fatigue, he took to the hotel ballroom stage with a rallying shout of "Yes, we can!" and a victory of sorts. "Bush may have been winning the votes, but we have been winning the hearts," he told the wildly cheering crowd.

In a season when the political class was growing more unpredictable with each passing day, the bright-eyed Michigan Rep. Pat offered fertile ground for what seemed to be shaping up as Buchanan's defiant last stand in his self-declared battle for the soul of the Republican party. In fact, the only problem with his protestations "America first" campaign, which seemed tailor-made to tap the frustration and fury of Detroit's dwindling auto workers, was a particularly glaring one for the Motor City—the Mercedes-Benz parked in Buchanan's Virginia garage. As a self-styled Bush campaign commercial played out, the columnist had once modeled his three American-built Cadillacs as trophies. "It's 'America first' as in political speeches," an officious announcer stated, "but a foreign car in his driveway."

As Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton blew into the Motor City on the morning after he had swept back to undisputed front-runner status in the Democratic presidential primary race, the prevailing political mood appeared to be in his favor. Not only had he trounced even as many delegates as his chief rival, former Missouri Gov. Jesse Ventura, but he had over the past six months Clinton had also built formidable campaign organizations in this week's two primary states, Michigan and Illinois. Now, trounced and triumphant, he had descended on Dearborn's Henry Ford Community College to plug his "where voters register with a vote" to a high-tech bid-to-win-a-vote appearance class.

But like the trouper, which had planned overnight, Clinton's political fortunes had suddenly shifted. In that day's Detroit News, influential labor leader Frank Gorman,

head of the UAW, in the heavily unionized state, had urged members to register as uncommitted voters if they cast their ballots for the Democratic underdog former California governor Jerry Brown, better known in some circles as Governor Moonbeam. Gorman acknowledged that he was less enamored of Brown's message than he was excited on trying to blast Clinton's pro-business priorities. But he succeeded, and in a candid error from the primaries with a clear mandate, the union leader hoped to force a brokered-party convention next July that would come up with a new candidate more to the labor movement's liking. Still, Gorman stressed that he had nothing personal against Clinton, he simply believed that persistent questions about the Arkansas governor's alleged womanizing and drift even had strayed into his chief quest—his apparent disloyalty.

In the fractious Democratic coalition, many saw Gorman's move as a risky, high-stakes strategy that could leave the party further divided as well as undermining the union's declining muscle. But already the leaders of United Auto Workers Local 1776, based at the Ypsilanti, Mich., plant that General Motors plans to close next year—leaving 4,500 people out of work—had taken up Gorman's cue. Endorsing Brown last week, they presented him with a bright-blue union windbreaker that he donned over his already dark-colored sweater, a trademark white turtleneck, and landscape shirt and red lapel ribbon to show his solidarity with auto unions.

But labor's shot in the face was only the beginning of Clinton's troubles last week. A self-proclaimed "policy wonk" who can spend hours expounding the merits of various economic and social programs, Clinton's words have been carefully plotted photo opportunity at the Henry Ford last-of-its-kind workshop event on touting his worker-retraining schemes. But to his obvious dismay, the implacable auto worker kept demonstrating one, more, metal-shrinking machine, possibly after another, downing out all possible aid to Clinton. When the structure required if he wanted to see yet another machine, Clinton gestured an uncharacteristically impatient, "No."

Still, even his timing of granting the floor, while rarely questioning the auto workers in the news, failed to persuade the union to let him say that his leaders believed. After his motorcade sped off to the next campaign stop, reporters swarmed down on the students to whom he had declined, demanding to know their impressions of him. "Well," said Rick Berry, a 25-year-old Chrysler welder, "he's not my man. He seemed

like a nice-enough guy—good-looking too. I guess that's why he's got all the women. But the Democrats haven't sold me on anyone since Jimmy Carter put me out of work in 1979."

At Hercules Automotive Manufacturing Corp., a coronavirus Detroit auto-body stamping plant, Clinton's former friend and now most bitter rival, was taking his own turn at attempting to woo Michigan's auto workers. Dropping by a factory owned by two Greek-American supporters, he was given a supply to watch Jerry Brown's: the plant's last Local 1776 president Tsongas with his own windbreaker. That left Clinton the only Democrat still campaigning in grey-hazel! But during the bright-blue jacket with "Be American, buy American" emblazoned on the back did not produce any automatic electoral magic for Tsongas, who also vowed to be "Bill Clinton's best friend" perched on a workbench before a phalanx of cronies for his own photo opportunity. Tsongas listed his 18-year congressional voting record as pro-labor as well as pro-business. "I've been there," he said.

But as he spoke, labor leaders across the state were already disavowing his claims of having helped curb the latest package for Chrysler Corp. 13 years ago. As former 600 president Douglas Fraser noted, Tsongas's chief role at that meeting on national drums was his "impulsive" insistence on wage concessions from the union. At the Hercules plant, Tsongas's talk of the need to reinvent in the nation's industrial base brought only polite applause. Then, Yves Roger, a quality-control supervisor, asked why he supported the North American free trade agreement, which most Michigan auto workers opposed, claiming it will result in exporting some of their jobs to Mexico. For Tsongas, who prides himself on his message of hard economic truths, the question seemed yet another chance to disconcert his wavering crowd. But as he argued his case for the agreement, it swiftly became clear that this audience differed from his usual white, college-educated crowds. While he talked, one by one, the plant workers turned their backs on him and pushed out the door. The clapped hands of Local 1774 greeted Tsongas's dose of economic control with noisy silence.

White House handlers had insisted that George Bush's hastily arranged speech to the Economic Club of Detroit last week was absolutely not—"regret not," emphasized one spokesman—a campaign appearance. Still, for

the outflow crowd of 2,100 auto industry executives, creditors and Dearborn's Grand Motor Club, it might have been easy enough to forget that admonition. Despite the lack of balloons and bands, the event was studied with even more attentive groups of goers: a seething secret-service-escorted motorcade that had led up traffic for hours, time security and the presidential seal on the podium between two White House Press Pools. In introducing the President's speech, Bush's Michigan campaign chairman, Gov. John Engler, took a distinctly political aim at Republican challenger Patrick Buchanan, calling him "Mr. Mercedes-Benz." And even Bush wound up his talk with an awkward, unscripted primary plea. "I know there are non-political gatherings," he said, promptly giving the lie to that protest, "but if you're a Republican, please vote for me on Tuesday."

The appeal was all the more remarkable considering that, with Buchanan's threat apparently on the rise, White House officials had just announced that Bush would be spending less time above the electoral fray, concentrating himself with key presidential tasks. But coming only four days before the Michigan primary, his speech last week seemed neither only nor particularly presidential. After leaving news that the President would send a four-point package of regulatory relief for the auto industry, White House strategists promptly scrapped that plan in favor of a single, somewhat uncharacteristic measure. Bush assumed that, contrary to plans, his Environmental Protection Agency would not require automakers to equip new cars with devices designed to prevent the release of gasoline fumes into the atmosphere while refueling. The reason for his just-in-time reversal? Bush's message limited to one day-to-grasp opportunity seemed late.

But the Economic Club audience greeted his speech with only grudgingly approval. And as given it descended in the already-splendid crowd, even some Republicans expressed chagrin at the 1992 presidential package they had just been served up with their apple pie. In fact, the only clear signal emerging from the primary trial had seemed to be a mounting disenchantment with politicians of every political stripe. It became even clearer why it might even be that enthusiastic crowds were looking to leave the populist, anti-establishment pitch of Jerry Brown, who was arguing them to dismantle the whole-battering political system.

MARIE McDONALD in Detroit



"Well, he's not my man. He seemed like a nice-enough guy—good-looking too. I guess that's why he's got all the women."

Chrysler welder Rick Berry, after a campaign appearance by Democratic candidate Bill Clinton

"I know these are nonpolitical gatherings, but if you're a Republican, please vote for me on Tuesday!"

President George Bush in a speech that handlers said was "not repeated" as a campaign appearance



BUSINESS

MISERY AT THE MALLS

When it first opened in 1975, the TransCanada Mall in northeast Calgary was a shiny temple to North American consumerism. By late last year, however, the TransCanada Mall had become "a disaster," acknowledges Christopher Lawrence, manager of acquisitions for Toronto-based Morguard Investments Ltd. "It was a small, enclosed mall with no visual appeal," added Lawrence. "These days, people expect to be wowed in a car." Still, the mall seemed to be slowly healed; at a major intersection, dominating an established neighborhood where no competing malls would be likely to appear nearby. With that in mind,

THE DEARTH OF SHOPPERS IS HURTING CANADA'S SHOPPING CENTRES AS WELL AS MANY RETAILERS

Morguard took what might seem to be a drastic step. Earlier this year, it assigned wreckers to tear down the 17-year-old mall, leaving a K Mart department store. In place of the former anchor unit, Morguard plans to build a 650,000-square-foot strip shopping centre of food and convenience stores—all along the street. According to Lawrence, Calgarians will be able to judge the results when the new glass opens in August.

For residents of northeast Calgary, the new shopping centre will be just one sign of the changes that are sweeping through the city-state-controlled world of the ubiquitous North American mall. Since making their first appearance 30 years ago, malls have penetrated the nation's commercial and cultural landscape in few other architectural innovations have done. But now, partly the victims of their own making and partly as a result of the economy's persistent downturn, the pervasive pop-in music malls are a harder underlying note many malls are in trouble. Some, including Montreal's Bixias Centre, which receives around on March 4, in the form of several banks, will be forced out of business. Others are likely to see dramatic changes, with different mixes of stores seeking to regain lost customers.

The current crisis in Canada's malls was a long-time air-come since the 1980s, shopping malls have sprung up in almost every town of more than 100,000 people. Indeed, retail analysts say that some cities have more mall space than their populations can support. Over the years, the expansion of instead retail chains brought the same stores to many

Demolishing the TransCanada Mall 'people expect to be wowed to a site'

of those malls. Said Christine Lloyd, managing director of the Toronto-based retail consulting firm Morguard-Hamilton Canada. "The malls all started to look identical. The only competitive advantage became location." In the past two years, time has caught up with the malls. Middle-aged couples, many having children and two jobs, found that they had less time and inclination to travel through the malls. Then, in April, 1990, came a recession—compounded by an erosion of Canadian shoppers to U.S. border cities such as the Goods and Services Tax.

The result has been a barrage of bankruptcies and store closings. Last week, B. J. John's, Mall-based Apple's Ltd., which had closed its 60 stores across Canada since seeking protection from its creditors in December, put its remaining 17 outlets up for sale and filed for voluntary bankruptcy. In all, four major national retail chains, representing 666 stores, have either closed some of their outlets or filed for protection under the Companies Creditors Arrangement Act since November.

The plight of retailers has, in turn, directly affected mall owners. If a mall has too many vacant stores, shoppers will go elsewhere, making it even harder. For the remaining ones to prosper. As well, many malls charge rent based in part on a percentage of their tenants' sales. As a result, any drop in the amount that shoppers spend at mall stores quickly shrinks the mall owner's profit.

The country's major mall operators are fighting back with a variety of strategies. One response is to build malls in high-traffic areas in business—and in the mall. Such arrangements are usually kept secret. But executives of Montreal-based Henry Bliss & Sons Ltd., which is struggling to repay about \$65 million in debt, acknowledge that they demolished—and redeveloped—retail space for several of their 165 stores across Canada.

In a more unusual move, one developer last month bought up a failinging mall chain to keep its stores open. On Feb. 28, Toronto-based Cadillac Fairview Corp. Ltd., the largest mall landlord in Canada—operating over 30 Canadian premium malls—together with a Grafton-Prater executive non-president, bought a 90-per-cent interest in the struggling chain. Since Christmas, Grafton-Prater has closed 123 stores, which operated under the names Jack Farrow, George Roberts, Kargate, Coflex and Grafton. Although details of the Cadillac Fairview deal were not disclosed, Grafton-Prater will receive up to \$6 million to keep its remaining 144 stores operating. The chain's creditors have until April 30 to approve the deal.

Meanwhile, mall owners are increasingly creating new spaces. According to Qing Tang, a partner in the Rudy Shop Inc. of 60 small and large products stores, the tactics being used can be forceful. Tangley says that some mall operators have refused to rent him some desirable outlets unless he also rented space in less popular areas. Tangley said that he has walked away from these conditions. But, he added, "If they persist in doing that, they are just going to weaken their retailers. They're going to get written by the weak mall." For his part, Cadillac Fairview president James Ballack assumed that landlords can work things out. "It is a problem, but not a depression or a crisis," he said. "It's a challenge," he added. Ballack, adding "We have had retailers try to get into the Toronto Eaton Centre by offering to lease other locations."

Industry analysts say that the country's largest malls are likely to weather the current storm. Many big malls, says Ian Thomas, president of Vancouver-based Thomas Consultants Inc., have become the modern-day equivalent of the town centre. Some have added such services as day care for children and medical offices. They have also expanded beyond their traditional sources of revenue by building offices and hotels and adding car showrooms at mall locations, Thomas said.

Owners of smaller malls have fewer options, but they too are trying different strategies to lure customers. In Halifax, the Park Lane mall has tried to attract mall space by renting to an unusually high percentage of independent retailers—with successful results. "We just are not suffering like the others," and Norma Bailey, project manager at Park Lane. There is also the TransCanada Mall strategy: starting over. But whether the rule-over is a complete or partial, the good news is that shopping malls are clearly struggling to survive.

BARBARA WICKENS with correspondence reports

Business Notes

REICHMANN ON THE OFFENSIVE

A London court ruled that Olympia & York Developments Ltd., the joint real estate company controlled by Toronto's Reichmann family, is liable to pay \$2.5 million that it should have paid to the U.S. investment bank Morgan Stanley & Co. last December. The court agreed to pay an office building in its struggling. Olympia & York Developments Inc. was bankrupt in 1989, but argued that it did not have to pay until last June. Meanwhile, in New York City, the private bank-owning agency Moody's Investors Service Inc. downgraded for the second time in a year the debt on \$655 million worth of notes issued under a \$1.5-billion office tower owned by O&Y.

A CAPITALIST HOME COMING

Thomas Blais, who led Bio-Occupy Canada for Canada more than 50 years ago, finally returned to his family's family home in 1990. The move is part of a joint venture between Blais and the newly democratic Canadian government that took months of negotiations to arrange. The previous Communist regime had nationalized Blais's Czech chemical empire in 1946.

TALKS TAKE FLIGHT

Robert Corbett, chairman of AMT Corp., the Fort Worth, Texas-based parent of American Airlines, said that he was in talks to buy Canadian Airlines. Corbett is considering management services. Such services would include acquiring, restructuring, flight planning and dispatching. A spokesman for Calgary-based Canadian Airlines confirmed that talks about a possible alliance are under way, but denied that discussions had moved beyond the preliminary stage.

THINER WALLS

Income for Canadian workers increased by 2.8 per cent in 1991, with an annual inflation rate was 5.6 per cent. According to Statistics Canada, that was the lowest annual growth rate in income since the federal agency began its current method of tracking wages and salaries in 1983.

PAYING THE PRICE

Disgraced former job-board chief Michael Milken and several of his associates at the now-bankrupt investment firm Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. will pay \$4.6 million to settle all lawsuits outstanding against them. A New York City judge ordered the payment. The judge said U.S. politicians had criticized him to the extent, after the U.S. Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. agreed to it.



POLO CREST



THE NEW MEN'S FRAGRANCE IN THE POLO TRADITION
IN DEPARTMENT STORES, ONLY AT THE BAY

Cleaning Up The Teamsters

DIANA KILMURY IS DETERMINED TO FREE HER UNION FROM A DYNASTY OF CORRUPT LEADERS

Ten days before Christmas, 1978, Diane Kilbury was driving along a snow-sloped mountain highway from the construction camp where she lived and worked near Prince George, B.C., to Vancouver, to spend the holidays with her parents. Aleep in the front seat of her 1974 Toyota Corolla was her youngest son, Sean, 9. Kilbury was a skilled driver who operated heavy construction vehicles at her job. But in the driving snow, she crabbed into a low truck and a double-ended at a third corner. Witnesses pulled her from the wreckage with crushed ribs and a shattered leg that took six operations and years of therapy to repair. Her son suffered brain damage that left him in a coma for a month and his memory permanently impaired. But what stayed with Kilbury longest from the accident was what she recalls as the collusion of officials in her union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Shortly after her accident, and facing months of painful convalescence, Kilbury applied to the union for extended long-term disability benefits. The Teamsters turned her down. After five years of legal maneuvering Kilbury won an out-of-court settlement from the union, but the accident convinced the idealistic young mother that the reformers in the union who were calling for a thorough purge of its corrupt union leadership were right. Recalled Kilbury "I essentially did not go on that road in the person I had been. I became much more hard-core about my union beliefs."



'We have been keeping a record of abuses for 15 years. If you are corrupt, we will get you.'

Diane Kilbury, vice-president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters

After that, I got very personal." Indeed, Kilbury has devoted much of the 14 years since her accident to a single-minded campaign to clean up the Teamsters. She was recruited last December, when the international organization's 1.5 million members elected Kilbury and 59 other reform-minded candidates to the Teamsters' powerful executive board. Among the losers: Canadian Senator Edward Lawson, who for more than 20 years had led the union's 50,000 Canadian members (page 42).

The election was more than a personal triumph for Kilbury. It was also an optimistic turning point in the turbulent 50-year history of the Teamsters. For most of that time, the union that represents workers in Canada, the United States and Puerto Rico has been plagued by persistent corruption and its U.S. leaders' links to organized crime (page 40). Since 1976, dissident members organized under the name Teamsters for a Democratic Union, based in Detroit, have fought for change. Their efforts won key support in 1984, when the U.S. justice department launched a sweeping racketeering suit against 150 senior union officials. Since then, a crackdown on the union's links with organized crime has led to the conviction of more than 50 former Teamster officials on charges of racketeering and corruption.

Reformers: Last December's election, meanwhile, installed a new slate of Teamster executives with the declared aim of riding the union of the legacy of corruption. New president Ronald Carey, who was sworn in last month, has pledged to put an end to decades of preference for the union's powerful elite—a task that he started by cutting his own annual salary to \$220,000 from \$360,000. The new executives have also undertaken a wide-ranging review of union benefits, from strike pay to insurance, and promised a strict new code of conduct for senior Teamsters.

Among the reforms, law and order the mood of victory with greater satisfaction than Kilbury, now 45 and a tall, busy woman who is still most comfortable in jeans and work boots. Indeed, Kilbury led the groundswell for the membership vote that carried her to office with a barely mentioned aim: installing police department plans to suspend union elections and place the Teamsters under direct federal control.

ship. And last December, she received more votes than any of the other 16 candidates who were elected. Considering last week with fellow members of the reform group at the former's drug Detroit office, she was still plainly militant. "We have been keeping a record of abuses for 15 years," Kilbury told Morrison. She added: "If you are corrupt, we will get you."

There was little in Kilbury's childhood to suggest her future as a tough-talking union boss. Raised in privileged circumstances in the affluent University Hill section of Vancouver, she is the daughter of a doctor and a stay-at-home mother. Her only brother is a doctor. Kilbury, who recalls herself as being the "peculiar" member of her family, married at 16, had two children and by 29 was divorced. By the age of 32, she had another son, Sean.

It was shortly after, while she was studying sciences at Langara College in the early 1970s, Kilbury says, that she first discovered that driving a truck paid far better than office work. Through a friend, she landed her first job with a gravel-hauling company. The money was good. Kilbury says, but she soon quit school and gradually learned to drive bigger and more demanding trucks. Encouraged, she enrolled in a heavy-equipment operator's course in 1974. The same day that she graduated from the course, she was called to work by a construction company. "My God," she recalls the started prospective employers asking when she showed for a job interview, "we've got a woman here." After she demonstrated her driving skills, however, the impressed licensee instructed the young woman to get her "ass down to the Teamsters. If they'll take you," he added, "I will."

Grave: At the union hall, Kilbury encountered even more colorful language. But in the mid-1970s, northern British Columbia was gripped by a construction boom, and the union was under pressure from employers to approve union membership for new workers promptly. Kilbury was quickly signed up. She slept little that night, thinking instead about the huge trucks she would soon be driving. And as a result of working in large construction sites she was often separated from her children. Still, her eldest son, 20-year-old Richard Jones, says that he admires his mother's accomplishments. Sean Jones, now a porter at a Vancouver hospital and plumbing firm, "I used to think she was crazy, putting so much effort into a hopeless cause. Now, I'm proud of her—she's taken on an enormous task."

For her own part, Kilbury says that she enjoyed both the opportunity to make a career choice—and the substantial wages it brought. "If you have to support your family, much better to do it at \$18 an hour than \$4 or \$5," she said matter-of-factly. Reflecting on the difference between her wages as a Teamster and what she could have earned as a driver without the organization's backing, Kilbury says that she became an instant convert to socialism. She added: "The Teamsters made a believer out of me—I thought I had arrived in heaven."

But Kilbury's idealistic view of the union was soon strained by its management and scarcely concealed favoritism and corruption. In particular, she recalls that union bosses in British Columbia and the Bronx won a dirty campaign of campaign letters containing defamatory statements directed at discrediting an early reform candidate, Jack Vukobrat, in 1976 elections to choose officials of the union's Vancouver local. Kilbury says that she was shocked by the experience and that it convinced her to fight for reform of the union establishment. She added: "The constitutionally acceptable of remaining silent when things were wrong." By 1978, Kilbury had joined the fledgling reform movement, an experience she describes as "arriving home."

Although a woman and a Canadian in a male-dominated American union, Kilbury quickly established a reputation

within the Teamsters is a perennial critic of its senior officials. As quickly, she also encountered the tactics that those officials used to maintain their control. Kilmary remembers attending a 1981 union convention in Las Vegas, a city where several unions controlled by organized-crime members were built with

like-minded members who joined him in founding the reform group. It was not unusual, Puff says, for corrupt union officials to conspire with employers to force dissident Teamsters fired from their jobs like Puff. "For many people with families, the loss of their job is the loss of their dignity, their future security, college for

'The election procedure is fairly well established now. I don't think you will ever have convention delegates electing Teamster officers again. You will always have rank-and-file elections.'

Michael Holland, *quasi-appointed elections officer*

their kids and their health care." It was all the more disconcerting, says Puff, whose wife suffers as a full-time employee of the Democratic Union group was steadily raised to \$22,000 after 35 years of service to ensure such tactics at such expense the leadership of senior Teamster officials "swallow in greed."

Indeed, the union's top leaders hid aggressively Jewish identities. An international president from 1983 to 1988, Thomas J. Curran Jr. was named an annual salary of \$240,000 and topped such luxurious costs as chauffeur limousines, a Florida Keys condominium and a private jet. Other top Teamsters held several titles at once, complete with multiple salaries and pensions that also soared into the millions. And by the mid-1980s, some of the Teamster's senior American leaders were also alleged to be involved in organized crime. Typical was Pines, who served Mafia bosses at the same time he was acting as an advisor for the FBI. Pines died of cancer in July 1988 just months before he was to go on trial for endorsement of union funds.

By then, the union's old guard was on the defensive. Two years earlier, in 1986, U.S. justice department officials said that they would file a civil racketeering suit against the union's internal leadership—and recommended that the union be placed under federal trusteeship.

Two years later, in June 1988, justice department officials in New York City named 58 senior Teamster members, including Curran's law son, as a suit under the federal Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act. It was the beginning of the end for the union's old guard. A year later, its long-time leadership agreed to surrender most of their powers

power in return for several names, including Lawson's, being dropped from the U.S. government's lawsuit, and gave a commitment to create the National Only after Curran's death of the suit reached in March 1989, Massachusetts federal district court Judge David Robinson gave investigators authority to conduct their own searches with a mandate to send out more than 130 Teamster officials suspected of corruption. By the end of last week, Washington's chief investigating officer, Nicholas attorney Charles Carberry, had obtained at least 52 corrections against union members, waiting only state that he has so far come to trial.

Ostracized. For Kilmary and the reformers who had been campaigning to end the Teamster's chief influence, however, the prospect of a court-ordered cleanup held the seeds of a quite different threat to their vision. The U.S. justice department initially asked Robinson to put the Teamster into trusteeship, a step that would effectively turn day-to-day operation of the union over to government-appointed overseers. Kilmary knew that the thought of such an outcome outraged the reformers. She added: "We told the government, 'If you want to get the crooks out, you do that, but you're not taking over our union.'"

It was Kilmary but she also contributed the \$2,000 needed to pay legal fees in order for the district justice, operating on a shoestring budget, to interfere in the federal lawsuit. "The only way to get a permanent solution," Kilmary argued, "is to give the rank and file the right to vote."

In his 1989 court order, Robinson did just that. Instructing the union for the first time in its history to choose its next round of officers by a vote of all its members, rather than by use of selected delegates to a convention, Robinson did away with a practice that had allowed the Teamster's old guard to stack successive officer elections. In response, the reformers launched a spirited campaign to convince the union's rank and file that it was now safe to support an anti-corruption slate of candidates. In 1989 and 1990, Kilmary spent more than \$50,000 traveling across the United States and Canada in a motor home adorned with union stripes and slogans calling for a democratically elected leadership. The popular four-state campaign was the final tally of votes that Democratic candidates that the reformers had taken 45.5 per cent of the vote, short of the two competing slates headed by old-guard Teamsters Ralph Dardano and Walter Sives.

In the end, the final review of the tarnished old guard took on an air of once-and-only. When newly elected president Curran and his fellow

reformers arrived at the union's Washington headquarters in January to assume office, a small but defiant band of senior officials refused to enter the building. Only after Curran's group secured a court order did the group finally leave—walking out the back door as Curran and his associates entered through the front.

Now installed in the opulent Louisiana Avenue Teamsters leadership center, union members widely refer to as "the marble pal-

ace" as Teamster officers again. You will always have rank-and-file elections."

The new major laws offer challenges, as well. Hundreds of Teamster suits are now still clogged up under the former leadership—some from negotiators, some of union funds and sweetheart deals with employers. Curran has been diplomatic so far, calling on such officials to keep the burden of the past and to cooperate with his new slate. At an earlier time, however, Curran faces immediate trials in his leadership on at least two fronts. Last week, 8,500 Northwest Airlines flight attendants voted on whether or not to leave the Teamsters. Meanwhile, 20,000 Teamster car leaders, who drive the two-wheel trucks that deliver interstates, are in an intense contract negotiations with their employers.

Skirting. For Canada's 92,000 Teamsters, the impact of the new business in the marble palace may be less dramatic. The Canadian branch of the union never had to endure the same sort of widespread abuses as its American parent. Still, Canadian Teamsters will also benefit if the reforms halt their practice of reworking the union's dues and benefits to the members' advantage. Kilmary, meanwhile, says that the future looks bright. Racing her damaged leg, now affected by arthritis, on a chair wheel taking her to the Detroit headquarters of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, she considered the months ahead. They are certain to prove physically demanding as the struggles between Detroit, her modest home to once-innovative and her new office in Washington. She explains that there are no even better business to sustain as well as something, the impact to have a drive across the country in her new role as one of its international Teamster vice-presidents. "I am politically opposed to them," she says of starts. "They're just in bad luck about it," a reference to the all-consuming paperwork involved in reforming labor union society.

Still, Kilmary is finally in a position to secure the ethical guidelines that she first proposed in Las Vegas in 1981. She predicts that new codes of conduct may startle some long-standing union employers. To them, she says, "There is no way you can pay us off, buy us off or scare us off. We want a decent standard of living for us people and we mean to get it." It is a back-to-basics union message that, almost nine decades after Kilmary's vision in Michigan, a new road seems little more than an extended detour.

PATRICK CHISHOLM with JONN DALL at Toronto

RATTING ON THE TEFLON DON

The Mob. The Mob. La Cosa Nostra. Whatever crime it goes by, traditional organized crime is under siege. Throughout the 1980s, the sweeping U.S. Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations law, which concentrates on criminal enterprises rather than individuals, seriously disrupted once-dominant Mafia groups in New York City, home to the country's five largest union battles, prosecutions under the 1990 law led to the crackdown and imprisonment of the top leaders of the Bonanno, Colombo, Lucchese and Genovese families. Now, John Gotti, the reputed boss of the powerful Gambino family that was loosely portrayed in the award-winning 1975 film *The Godfather*, appears likely to fall. Gotti earned the nickname "the Teflon Don" for winning acquittals three times in the past six years

on racketeering and assault charges. This time, however, the testimony of a mob informant could make the difference. Gotti's fourth account of plotting the 1985 murder of his predecessor, Paul Castellano, as well as of bookmaking, loan-sharking and income tax evasion. If convicted, the 51-year-old Gotti would face life imprisonment without parole.

This would present a serious blow to organized crime. According to law-enforcement officials, the Gambino family's power extends are illegal gambling, loan-sharking, drug trafficking and extortion from businesses and unions—including the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—in the garment, construction, waterfront, trucking and package-delivery industries. Gotti's empire has been estimated at \$250 million annually for the organization reportedly run by Gotti, who says he is a salesman of plumbing and heating supplies. Although widely revered, Gotti and other Mafia figures have been a nuisance of respectability among some New Yorkers. Last year, the Long Island Jewish Medical Center accepted funding

for a new bone marrow transplant unit from Thomas and Joseph Gambino, sons of the deceased Mafia boss. Gambino and his youngsters are active in Gotti's crime syndicate.

In testimony before Brooklyn's federal district court last week, underworld narcotics boss Steven Sotomayor the *Wall Street Journal* testified that he carried out orders from Gotti to kill people. "I was a good, loyal soldier," said Sotomayor. "John barbed and I hit." The jury will soon decide Gotti's fate. But whatever the outcome, G. Robert Blumley, the University of Miami Texas law professor who drafted the Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations statute, predicts that the non-business power of Mafia dons is in decline. "Their strongholds in Boston, Philadelphia, Atlanta, City, Cleveland, New Orleans, Chicago and New York are all pure or underground," said Blumley. "If the new law has not set on all of them, it surely is tonight here."

ANDREW BILSKY



'The whole union has to be restructured, from the bottom to top.'

RONALD KILMARY, *president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters*

are. "Curran has set about the task of reorganizing the organization. It is a massive undertaking," said Macdonald, adding "The whole union has to be restructured, from the bottom to the top. What has been before just wasn't working." It was in cutting his own salary (Kilmary earned \$54,000 in 1989) that he began to build his reputation to sell off the old leadership's five-year rule to keep the practice of leaders holding multiple titles. At the same time, the officials opposed by the government to monitor the union's affairs, have expressed confidence that there will never be a return to the practices that allowed senior officials to stack elections for so long. Said election officer and labor lawyer Michael Holland: "I think the election process is fairly well established now. I don't think that you will ever have convention delegates

A DYNASTY OF ROGUES

THE TEAMSTERS' HISTORY OF CORRUPTION

For most of its 80-year history, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been courted by politicians seeking support from its huge membership—and by organized-crime leaders seeking access to its multibillion dollar pension fund. A chronology

1903 Two rival unions of horse-drawn milk, coal, ice and bread vendors in several eastern U.S. cities merge to form the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The merger brings together the Team Drivers International Union, founded in Detroit in 1890, and the Teamsters National Union, established in 1903. Cornelius Shea of Indianapolis is elected the first president of the new union.

1907 Shea is forced out after being charged with extortion. He is later acquitted, but James Tobin of Brooklyn takes over as president, a post he will hold for 45 years. During his presidency, Teamsters switch from horses to motorized transport and membership in the union increases from 48,000 in 1907 to 185,000 in 1933, to 1.5 million in 1953. Tobin supports conservative, so-called "business unionism," but decides most of his time to recruit labor union, paying little attention to the activities of Teamster leaders.

1920 Teamster leaders in Canada join the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, a national umbrella group and the forerunner of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC). That same year, Prohibition takes effect in the United States, leading until 1933. Organized-crime leaders in many U.S. cities, including New York City-based Charles "Lucky" Luciano, seek to solidify their control over illegal liquor



Hoffa: presumed murdered after his 1975 disappearance

transport and distribution by using Teamster trucks.

1934 Patrick Dobbs, in effect, leads the Teamsters to victory in a violent four-month strike in Minneapolis. Throughout the late 1930s, Dobbs organizes longshoremen, dockers and warehouse workers in several states—a strategy that transforms the Teamsters from a mostly local federation of local delivery drivers into the largest union in North America. Dobbs's tactics inspire two young Teamster organizers and future union presidents James (Jimmy) Hoffa in Detroit and David (Dave) Beck in California.

1940 Dobbs leaves the union following disputes with Tobin over organizing strategy and politics. Tobin is one of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's strongest supporters and closest advisors in the labor movement. During the Second World

War, Tobin successfully urges Teamsters not to strike, and to participate in war-related drives.

1952 Tobin retires and Beck becomes the most powerful



Preiser: indicted in 1966 on charges of embezzlement

event union leader to support Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

1957 A select committee of the U.S. Senate begins two years of nationally televised hearings into allegations of union corruption. Massachusetts Senator John Kennedy sits on the committee; his younger brother Robert is its chief counsel. Beck resigns as Teamsters president after the committee accuses him of misappropriating hundreds of thousands of dollars of union funds and accepting kickbacks from an employer. The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) expels the Teamsters and, a year later, Beck is convicted of embezzlement and goes to prison.

Hoffa succeeds Beck as president and begins a deal with the Kennedys that will last until Robert's assassination in 1968. Before a scheduled appearance at the Senate hearings, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents arrest Hoffa and charge him with trying to bribe a lawyer to join the contractor's legal staff and provide him

with copies of confidential cooperative names. Robert Kennedy offers to jump off the Capitol dome if Hoffa is not convicted. But Hoffa is acquitted after a four-month trial, and his lawyer offers to send Kennedy a parachute.

The committee report documents evidence of widespread corruption within the Teamsters and comes dozens of years after officials with criminal records. Robert Kennedy later writes, "The Teamsters union is the most powerful institution in this country—aside from the U.S. government itself. As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil."

1959 The Teamster pension fund begins absorbing millions of dollars in loans to owners and developers of Las Vegas hotels, including many who are linked to organized crime. Among the early recipients are associates of longtime Mafia financial architect Meyer Lansky.

1960 The AFL-CIO expels the Teamsters for raiding a railway workers union based in British Columbia.

1964 Hoffa is convicted of mail fraud and jury tampering and sentenced to 13 years in prison. After unsuccessful appeals, he begins serving his term in 1967, but retains the Teamster presidency.

1971 Hoffa resigns and is succeeded by Frank Fitzsimmons of Detroit. President Richard Nixon accuses Hoffa's wife Marie of using Hoffa's name to raise funds for union activities until 1980.

1975 Hoffa disappears, and is presumed murdered. Fitzsimmons attempts to find his body but is later indicted on many bribery charges and other jobs that read, "My other car is Jimmy Hoffa," and speculation that he remains are excited in members of the mobsters at the Meadowlands football stadium in New Jersey.

1978 The U.S. labor department files a suit charging Fitzsimmons and 18 other active Teamster trustees of the Teamsters pension fund with misappropriating funds.



Robert Kennedy (left) with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover: "this is a conspiracy of evil"

1981 Fitzsimmons dies of cancer and is succeeded by Roy Wilkins of Kansas City.

1982 Sean Pyle, general agent of a Teamster local representing warehouse workers in Toronto, pleads guilty to theft charges—the only major conviction of a Canadian Teamster. Companies distributing beer and wine later admit having paid \$350,000 in kickbacks to Pyle from 1979 to 1983 to maintain labor peace.

1984 Roy Wilkins resigns as Teamster president after being convicted of conspiring to bribe Nevada Senator Howard Cannon. Jackie Preiser

of Cleveland, who had been considered by president-elect Ronald Reagan in 1980 for the post of undersecretary of labor, succeeds Wilkins.

1986 Preiser is indicted for a federal grand jury in Cleveland on charges of embezzlement and racketeering.

1988 The Teamsters receive a \$100-million fine for the 1981-83. Preiser dies of cancer while awaiting trial. Wilkins, McCarthy of Boston succeeds Preiser as president.

1989 The U.S. justice department files a lawsuit against the Teamsters under the sweeping Racketeer Influ-

enced & Corrupt Organizations Act. McCarthy settles the suit by allowing a court-appointed review board to oversee administration of the union. As well, McCarthy agrees to abandon the union's custom of electing its leaders every five years by a show of hands of delegates to a convention, and to devotes to replace it with a secret-ballot vote of the membership-at-large. For the next union elections in 1991.

1991 Ronald Carey, a labor reform candidate, is elected Teamster president. His vice-presidential picks include Diane Kelsey from Vancouver.

AFTER THE FALL

CANADA'S FORMER TOP TEAMSTER REMAINS ELUSIVE

The 49-year-old senator's wide-ranging media speech was, like the man himself, both controversial and combative. Independent Senator Edward Lawson, the high-flying chief of Canada's International Brotherhood of Teamsters, rose in the upper chamber Oct. 30, 1970, three weeks after being appointed by three-time Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau to replace Trudeau's "accidental" heading of the political crisis provoked by the kidnapping and murder of Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte. Lawson went on to say that he had received congratulations on his appointment from the Vancouver Labor Council, "wishing me loyalty and success in the Senate," but only after seven of the council's 15 members had voted against sending the goodwill message.

Notoriety: Devotion of opinion would mean Lawson's profile in terms of political and organized labor rose at the very time Lawson, in the Teamsters, rose to the highest echelons of the 1.5-million-member union earning a salary estimated at over \$250,000. But his prominence also brought notoriety as a successor of U.S. administration landed in red the Teamsters of corruption in the Canadian Senate, meanwhile, Lawson was notable for missing more sitting days than he attended. He lost his usual position three months ago but finds about a month



Lawson (right) and Teamster regional vice-president Charles Thibault's bounteous life

in the high St. Vincent Teamsters' Vancouver. "He had the opportunity to be a very strong voice for Canadian labor and he just didn't do it," countered University of Toronto economics professor and longtime friend John Cripps. "I saw him change very effective public speaking to the government, other issues, and so on." By any measure, the story of Lawson's rise and subsequent collapse is remarkable. Born Adolph Lachowski to the village of Spyck, Silesia, 320 km east of Berlin, in 1929, he was a plant in Boston home when he was 6, after a family breakup. He dropped out of high school before turning Grade 10 to become a truck driver—and a Teamster. At 24, he changed his name to Lawson because it was simpler to

pronounce. A naturally gifted speaker and organizer, he rose steadily in the Teamsters and by 1970 became the union's senior leader in Canada. In 1978, then-Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons named him director of the Canadian Conference of Teamsters. Lawson's star began to fall in 1988. In June of that year, U.S. prosecutors launched a suit to remove the union's allegedly mob-dominated leadership—naming Lawson and 17 other senior Teamsters. A year later, the U.S. prosecutors dropped Lawson's name from the suit in part of a wide-ranging settlement in which the

complicity to the upper house in 1985 that even when Lawson did show up, he often stayed only minutes. Said Godfrey: "Even if you're here two minutes, it counts as a full day."

Business: For his own part, Lawson, who is married and has three daughters, was vacationing in Palm Springs, Calif., last week and did not return repeated phone calls from Montreal. But he has said that he does not plan to run again for office in the Teamsters. After losing his last campaign position in December, he told a Vancouver Sun reporter: "This is my

last electoral defeat. On balance, that's a pretty big record."

Lawson is unlikely to miss his Teamsters income, at least. Sources say he has net worth of \$1 million in addition to his political fundraising work in Vancouver. Lawson has business interests, mainly in Brazil, Colombia and there remains his Senate post, unless the restriction is changed or abolished, he is entitled to keep that job until his mandatory retirement in 2004. Clearly, life for the senator from Spy Hill has been more comfortable than it has for most of the union members represented for nearly three decades.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa



Ford tripping down the steps from an airplane: everything is on the wrong side

HEALTH

On the other hand...

Southpaws may be dangerous—to themselves

For the estimated 10 per cent of the population that is left-handed, life as a right-hander's world is often difficult. Everything from fishing rods and wrench sockets to computers and heavy machinery is often designed for use by right-handed people. In many languages, even the word for "left" means that flattering connotation.

In German, *linkisch* means awkward or clumsy; in French, *gauche* means uncouth or crass; the Latin word *sinister* is related to the nouns *sinister* or evil. But according to a new book entitled *The Left-Hander Syndrome: The Causes and Consequences of Left-Handedness*, left-handers may have more to worry about than cutting themselves with a pair of right-handed scissors. In two studies, author and Vancouver Stanley Caine, a psychology professor at the University of British Columbia, and Vancouver-based left-handed people did not live as long as most right-handers.

How left-handers start life is among the more controversial theories. Caine addresses. In his book, Caine explains that left-handedness may be the result of both nature caused by a complicated pregnancy or a difficult birth process. But that is only the beginning. He writes that left-handed people may be slower to mature, may be more likely to get into trouble

with the law and are more likely to describe themselves as introverted, antisocial and quarrelsome. A larger proportion of left-handers, he writes, may also suffer from health problems including asthma and diabetes.

Caine also explains why left-handed people are often thought to be clumsy or awkward. Using the case of former president Gerald Ford, a left-hander who was widely regarded as accident-prone, Caine contends that the former athlete was not clumsy at all but suffered because "all of the physical associated with the president is based on the assumption that he is right-handed." As a result, Ford often had to turn right to meet people when his natural inclination was to turn left. "For the left-handed president," Caine writes, "everything is on the wrong side, which makes collisions and tangles much more likely."

Caine presents evidence from two studies which suggest that health hazards may shorten the life spans of left-handers. In one study, Caine and another researcher took advantage of detailed published data on major-league baseball players. Taking the figures for players who died before 1970, Caine narrowed the sample to include only players who both threw and batted with the same hand—a total of 2,271 athletes. His discovery? At any age above

33, left-handed ball players died from accidents at a rate 10 per cent higher than that for right-handed players. The last left-handed player died at the age of 81, while the oldest right-handed lived to be 109.

To confirm the results of his baseball study, Caine examined 3,875 death certificates in two Southern California counties and sent a questionnaire to the next of kin based on the record to determine which hand the person had used. The analysis of the 987 usable responses, Caine writes, confirmed what he already suspected: The average age at death for right-handed people was 75 years, while left-handers lived about 66 years. For left-handed men in the study, Caine adds, the difference was even greater; they lived an average of 59 years and one month less than right-handed men, while left-handed women died about four years and 10 months earlier than right-handed women.

Still, some statistics of Southpaws appeared *flawed* about the validity of Caine's conclusions. Said Susan Ireland, managing editor of the *Topical*, New-based Left-Hander Magazine, a bimonthly with a circulation of 30,000: "His usual samples that are not validated and then he comes out with horrendous news." Ireland said that following the publication of Caine's baseball study in *Nature* magazine in 1988 and the California study in *The New England Journal of Medicine* in 1991, other researchers tried, and failed, to replicate his findings. Philip Brydges, an experimental psychologist at Ontario's University of Waterloo, pointed out that no one had duplicated Caine's life expectancy data. But Brydges acknowledged that Caine has "some challenging ideas." He adds: "And it's good to have some positive effects because it will get people looking at these issues."

Still, Caine also ascribes some benefits to being left-handed. He writes that southpaws have a greater ability to visualize objects and mentally manipulate them. (Think: *Lefty*, the useful as such designs as physics, chemistry and engineering. That same ability, he adds, may explain why many left-handers are good chess players and why there is a proportionately high number of left-handed artists and architects.) In addition, Caine writes, the gap between left-handers has started to close, and more appliances and tools are being designed for left-handed people. The aim of *The Left-Hander Syndrome*, Caine says, is to emphasize the differences that left-handers face. With that, he adds, knowledge of the right-handed majority may step up their efforts to illustrate the obstacles to those on the other hand.

NORA UNDERWOOD



ENVIRONMENT

Recycling blues

Rising costs threaten a popular program

The warning signals came even from committed environmentalists such as Kingston, Ont. Mayor Helen Cooper. Like millions of other Ontario residents during the 1980s, she warmly embraced the province's blue-box program—discreetly setting aside bottles, cans and newspapers from her family's garbage for recycling. But Cooper now says that she is finding her blue-box recycling material to the curb each week with less enthusiasm. Like many municipalities in Ontario, she says that the cost of operating the system has soared, especially in some Ontario communities and has increasingly run out of control. The result, she adds, is that some municipalities are considering scrapping the program. "More and more people are concerned," said Cooper, who is chairman of the 470-member Association of Municipalities of Ontario. "It has become so expensive that we do not have any money left for other environmental concerns."

In Ontario, birthplace of the blue-box program that won a United Nations Environment Award in 1989, the concept is coming under

increasing fire. For one thing, the cost of operating the program, the largest of its kind in North America, has soared because of inefficient collection methods. And the prices for old newspapers, the system's major money generator, have collapsed. At the same time, the ubiquitous plastic boxes are at the centre of a growing political storm over who should pay for the recycling. The resolution of that question could determine whether the boxes will disappear from 2.6 million Ontario homes now using them or, as Ontario's not-for-profit government, the program will expand and become even more entrenched. Declared provincial Environment Minister Ruth Gentry: "The blue boxes are here to stay. They are an innovative idea that allows people to participate in the waste problem."

But in Ontario struggles to find a way to reduce the cost of operating and financing the revolutionary program, dozens of other communities across Canada are launching recycling programs partly based on the Ontario model. In Nova Scotia, the provincial government and private industry will spend as much

Plastic waste in Delta, B.C.: expense

as \$906,000 to help launch recycling programs across the province this year. Vancouver and Calgary have concluded recycling experiments and are embarking on full-scale recycling programs. And in Edmonton, members of a not-for-profit society working on a unique recycling program have found global markets for garbage. But as the blue boxes spread even further, the question of who should pick up the tab will also grow.

The blue-box program started in Kitchener, a southwestern Ontario city of 163,000, in September 1983, a transportation and waste-disposal firm, Hamilton-based Landlaw Waste Systems Ltd., introduced the concept of special containers—blue plastic boxes—in which households could put recyclable goods at the curb for pickup. That program collected glass, steel cans and newspapers from 35,000 households. In 1986, blue-box recycling spread rapidly across Ontario after the provincial government and the province's major bottlers, led by Toronto-based Coca-Cola Beverages, agreed to help fund its expansion. In return, the then-Liberal government of Premier Bob Peterson dropped its plan to levy a deposit on aluminum cans that the soft-drinks industry intended to introduce. Such a plan would have made the industry responsible for their collection and disposal.

From then on, the province's major bottlers formed a recycling agency, Ontario Multi-Material Recycling Inc. (OMRI), which has distributed \$25 million for 458 communities across the province to finance creation of blue-box programs and help pay for the purchase of equipment, including special collection trucks.

The province subsidizes the program at a rate of almost \$36 million a year. Originally, commentators were to have shared the full cost of collecting and sorting waste, and of shipping the recycled product, after five years. But because costs have been far higher than expected, the province has agreed to continue subsidizing, covering 50 per cent of necessary costs.

Even at that, many municipal officials now say that the program has proven too expensive for local taxpayers. In Metropolitan Toronto, officials calculate the cost of collecting a ton of recyclable goods at nearly \$500—and its resale value at just \$68. Unless new financing appears soon, municipal officials warn, the blue boxes may vanish as quickly as they appeared. Said Metro's waste commissioner Robert Ferguson: "If we can't bring some order and reduced cost to this, the program is in trouble."

The private sector, the provincial government and environmentalists have all proposed solutions, but a comprehensive long-range plan is still away from the city. For its part, the Ontario Soft Drink Association announced last week that it would help offset the cost of collecting and recycling pop containers within the blue-box system with direct grants to communities. Last week, association officials gave Metro Toronto \$100,000. But they said that there would be no more grants if the province initiates a deposit system as part of an expanded blue-box program. Said Stuart Harber, director of the Toronto-based Soft Drink Association: "Once you take our containers out of it, you are taking out a large part of the revenue side. I think you would be killing the blue box."

The province has not committed itself one way or another as to how to fund the system. But Gentry said MacDonald's that she is leaning towards a system that would place the responsibility for paying for blue-box recycling on industry. Said the minister: "Waste as being created by a whole lot of generators, and yet the public sector is responsible for disposing of it." She added that her government plans not only to retain the blue-box program, but to expand it even further. Currently, 2.6 million of Ontario's nearly five million households use the boxes, and another 400,000 boxes will be added by 1995. The program will also be expanded to include such institutions as schools and hospitals and 400,000 of Ontario's 700 000 apartments.

Meanwhile, Ontario's private-sector recycling group, OMRI, has broadened its base since its beginnings and now includes a cross section of Ontario industries, including newspaper and grocery firms. OMRI has another \$45 million to disburse to Ontario communities to offset the cost of collecting recyclable goods.

But its officials add that they want to see which way the Ontario government goes before committing the money. If, for instance, the government decided to fund the blue-box system by imposing a special tax on products in recyclable containers, then "all bets would be off," said Coca-Cola president Neville Kirkham. He added: "It's very fragile situation right now." But Mac-Bon supporters argue that the program may not be as unacceptably expensive when compared with its alternatives. OMRI executive director Mark McKeown, for one, said



Green: The blue boxes are here to stay.

that the costs here to be balanced against the environmental benefits of oil and savings from developing a preface to a tax on and decreasing the need for new landfill capacity. "We do not factor in the true cost to the economy." Added the minister: "For example, we use less energy to create bottles from recycled glass than to create new bottles

But these factors are not calculated in."

Supporters also claim to act on the perception that warehouses are filling up with recyclable waste because there is no market for it. In Ladlow, a waste-management consultant with Ladlow who supervised the creation of the Kitchener blue-box program, said that there is a market for all the products that are currently being recycled—glass, steel and aluminum cans, newspapers and newsprint. These materials are not in landfill as the program's ministers once anticipated—newspaper, for instance, accounts for half of all recycled waste, and at once has fallen to \$30 a ton from \$75. But Ladlow said that he expects prices to rise again during the next two years, when the next new newspaper deal along with across Canada short operations. Meanwhile, some accumulated newspaper has been shipped to processors in South Korea and Nigeria, at a cost to Ontario taxpayers of \$1 million.

As well, some aggressive recyclers contend that, with some strong encouragement and a little impetus, it is possible to market almost any material pulled from a household's trash. In fact, officials at the Edmonton Recycling Society, which started in 1988 and now serves 67,000 homes, have found markets around the world for their products and claim that all but one per cent of what they gather is recycled, including milk cartons that are shipped to Italy, where they are turned into high-quality toilet paper. "Staples are a myth in recycling," said society executive director Corinna Gaudin: "We have been successful in marketing what we have to be aggressive about moving it."

Across Canada, other recycling programs are at various stages of development. Like Ontario, the New Scotia government is working with private companies and associations to help finance recycling in the province. An agency called the Nova Scotia Resource Recovery Fund provides municipalities with as much as 70 per cent of the cost of setting up a recycling program and pays as much as 50 per cent of the operating costs during the first 18 months of operation. Fund officials say that they plan to jump \$500,000 into provincial recycling programs this year alone.

In Montreal, officials say that they are coming up with an incentive to newspaper printers to help finance their rapidly growing system. And here, Winnipeg has decided not to joined in recycling, either across Ontario or across cities like Vancouver and Calgary, are pushing ahead with relatively new recycling programs. Vancouver now has 95,000 homes—roughly half the population—in its 16-month-old blue-box program. In Calgary, the city council now considers recycling as an expected cost of living that would be borne by those who could take bottles, cans and newspapers to local recycling depots. Said the city's recycling coordinator, Wyn van der Schuer: "Responsible recycling programs make people more environmentally conscious." But the question, even in its size of recycling, is whether the cost, in which the blue-box campaign is simply too expensive for everyone's taste.

TOM FENNEL, with correspondent reports



Jays' Morita on the month off-season acquisitions shore up an already formidable roster

SPORTS

Letter from Spring Training

High hopes and tube tops

Baseball is back. Even as snowed-out Canadians endure the last dismal innings of winter, major leagues from 26 teams are warming up at spring training camps in sunny Florida and Arizona. Adoring fans remember their every stretch and swing, while a fortunate host of baseball writers (under all their clothes) in the crowd of the last, the smell of the grass—for another season. Last week, Maclean's Associate Editor James O'Brien dropped in on the Toronto Blue Jays' camp in Dunedin, Fla., while resident Jerry Langmead visited the Montreal Expos in West Palm Beach. Their wish-you-were-here report.

Game time is still more than 300 hours away, but the true believers are already lined up to worship at the great diamond shrine. The place is Great Field, a lush patch of ball-park grass in otherwise paved and ball-boarded Dunedin on Florida's west coast. The

people waiting outside the still-climate stadium gates clutch score sheets and cool cocktails, and enjoy themselves around their needs. By arriving so early, they will be able to see both the Jays and their opponents, the St. Louis Cardinals, take batting practice. In the queue, the mostly Canadian fans chatter about what a good game young Rhéal Cormier, from Sherbrooke, N.B., pitched for the Cardinals, the day before, and about how Jack Morris, the Jays' new ace, has not reached mid-season form yet. But the most telling sign of how low on baseball is that they are here in at all—Buckley in Dunedin is what they supposed to be a museum game.

Said to be a big character, the game outside at least the illusion of innocence in spring training. Veterans stare home the skills that earned them their privileged place in what has become an enormously lucrative pastime. Rockies and non-rockies hope to run out every artificial hit and drive for every ground ball, trying

for previous spots on the 25-man teams. The ball parks are small, the stands close to the grass infield—outstare settings to resemble an after with baseball after a 40-month suspension. "After the layoffs, I come back pretty optimistic," said Jutta O'Leary, the Jays' first baseman. "It's exciting to get out here and see what you can do."

Canadian fans at both the Expos' and the Blue Jays' camps seem especially eager this year to ease the disappointments of last season. Montreal finished dead last in the National League East in 1991, while Toronto, after capturing the American League East crown, inexplicably lost three straight playoff home games—and the league title—to the Minnesota Twins, who went on to win the World Series. Most baseball prognosticators are confident that the beleaguered Blue Jays will at least top their dismal 1991, the predictions are less rosy for the Expos, whose hope is simply to be a contender. But the

most over-quoted spring-training cliché is that the 160-game regular season, which begins on April 6, still has ahead, giving every team an equal shot at the World Series next October. After all, last year's Series contestants, Atlanta and Minnesota, both finished at the bottom of their divisions the year before.

That is good news to fans watching the Expos warm up in Tony West Palm Beach. Last place was bad enough, losing three home safes, Olympic Stadium, where a 500-man bank of concrete came crashing down last fall, was positively embarrassing. But this year's Expos begin with some new players and a new look—and mood. The new media guide reads at French first, English second, and even a West Palm, the team is marketing itself in French this year. Last week, before a crowd of 3,503 at Municipal Stadium, contestants at a before-though promotion shot baskets into a hoop with the aid of scantily clad waitresses from the local Hooters restaurant. The promotion may have been pure American, but the

said Ray Soward, 56, from Ottawa. Carter will know that he has to be a starting card—he even claims to have sold a season's ticket over the telephone. "I was in the office and some guy called up asking how much the tickets were," he told Maclean's, "so I got on the phone and talked him into it."

An Dunedin, Great Field has a distinct Toronto flavor. Most of the cars in the parking lot have Ontario license plates. And most of the profanity of Blue Jays signs are those bearing Ontario place names: "Revelon Falls Car & Truck Centre" and "Cris Tractor." But even without such props, the trained Florida eye can detect the Canadian presence. One Dunedin localer points out how quiet the early-morning Jays are, then they sound in a straight line outside the gate. "They're too polite to be American," she observed between drags on a cigarette.

In the stands, a visible contingent of the crowd seems not to believe the stories about severe depletion and slow recovery. Great an-



Expos' Carter stretching standing out Goss for a veteran

public-address announcer was all. Québec "Besse chance," shouted Alan Cranston. He might have been talking to the team, which is fighting to regain its lost home after several years of stadium life before a million in 1991, combined with a high of 2.3 million in 1993 "It's hard for them in Montreal," said Gerry Price, 38, a substitute in hockey-land Montreal who has come to see the Expos. "They'll always be second in an Canadiens."

If the Expos' web-the fans this year, it will be in the lack of front-office staff. They traded sleeping first baseman Andrés Góez to the Cardinals for freebasing pitcher Ken Hill, and they resigned his former Jays' Carter. Whenever Carter, a 27-year-old catcher, posted up to the plate last week, the crowd gave the 18-year veteran a standing ovation. "He's going to sell a lot of tickets for them,"

passed of over-quoted winter this season, and although most of the many grey-haired heads are covered in some sensible braid, there are many grey-red bald spots—and several ill-situated tube tops. But the fans are stamped in a ball field against the Philadelphia Phillies last week, veteran slapper Dave Winfield, an off-season addition to the Blue Jays, did hard into second base to break up a double play. The crowd erupted in cheers, acknowledging real battle from one of the game's millionaires. "Why to go, Dave," yelled one fan as Winfield took back to the dugout. Winfield pointed up to the fan and said, "Thanks."

In a small ball park, even people in the back row can hear that sort of thing. "We like a hero," said Douglas McGeachy, a retired Ontario Provincial Police officer from Zippin, Ont., who attends Great Field games with his

wife, Rene. "It's funny, and there's no one yelling louder than your back." The players appreciate playing in a stadium audience. "Base in New York made him want to play," said Kelly Gruber, the Jays' third baseman. "But not here. They live baseball here."

The dean of Dunedin fans is Frank McKee, 81, an ex-cub at Great Field since the Blue Jays began playing there 16 years ago. McKee, a retired insurance executive, has moved six places—he has been an ex-cub at New York Mets home games since 1962 and before that worked Brooklyn Dodgers games at Ebbets Field beginning in 1958. He lives in north by Clearwater, but flies to New York City so that he can see his first love when the stadium is full. "I've seen it all," McKee says. "The game 'the greatest thing in the world.' But the thing he loves most about spring training is the easiest job it gives the players. 'During the season, you don't always see them having fun,' he said. 'Down here, they have fun.'"

And why call the off-season acquisitions of Morris and Winfield ahead up an already formidable Jay roster. The Jays know that a lot is expected of them this year, and they are confident. "This is the best team I have ever been a part of," outfielder Joe Carter told Maclean's. Added Winfield: "It's up to us to convince ourselves to playing our best, during a winning season and being the first Canadian team to win it all."

But even an up-glanced spring training has its dark clouds. Just outside the city's postcard of Little Italy, northeast of Tampa Bay, a multi-billion dollar "BASEBALL" Don't sell out to the Japanese! God Bless America! The reference was to a proposed sale of the Seattle Mariners to a group headed by a Japanese investor. The man who has so far blocked that bid is Fay Vincent, the two-time commissioner of Major League Baseball. While on a tour of training sites last week, Vincent told reporters that, while he still loved the game, he was getting tired of the business. That business includes the financial difficulties of the Mariners and the problems of small-market teams as well as of spending player salaries. As such, Vincent must now negotiate a new rights agreement with player's association, a deal that experts predict will pay the less than the current \$14.6-billion four-year agreement with New York Yankees GM and Boston. Game-based 1991 that expires next season. Even the Jays' local rival Toronto-based Scotiabank Broadcasting paid \$60 million for five years to televise up to 65 games each season on CTV and CTV stations.

But this is still spring training, weeks from any game that means anything in the standings and light-years from the worries of big business. The players are happy as they are as the Blue Jays scored a ninth inning run to beat the Phillies 7-4 last week. And from his seat in the stadium behind home plate, McGeachy asked "Would you rather be back home in water, or here watching baseball?" Good point.



Giving thanks for small mercies

BY GEORGE BAIN

This week, a brief lecture in modern history, 1968, "The Rise of Extreme Movements and Judgmentalism in the Parliamentary Press Gallery, c. 1950-1982: Causes and Effects." Not first, a little background.

The *Hill Times*, which calls itself Ottawa's parliamentary newspaper, is designed to appeal to people—members of Parliament, public servants, members of the press gallery, among others—who work on or near the capital's only known geographical feature: the paper. It appeals to them by writing about them. In its issue of Feb. 27, The *Hill Times* ran two pages side by side, under the heading, "Cutting press gallery subsidies." One was by Glenn Hay, freelance column and author, who was identified as "against." The other by Kirk LaPointe of The Canadian Press, who was "for." Their debate, and a debate among members of the press gallery as a whole at which it was in attendance, was about how to let the government—now estimated at \$367,760—of providing for the press gallery, and whether the newspaper, TV, radio and magazine people who use the place should not to pay more for it.

There has never been a time when (most members know) this debate has been worse than (temporarily suspended). There is nothing new about it, except the decidedly benevolent name by which the subject is known nowadays—"press gallery self-reliance." It used to be called simply "budgeting." Now it is made to sound like something out of a mid-order course in personal uplift. But I digress. This is a serious subject, not to be taken lightly. Press gallery self-reliance has implications for the outside world, which is to say, for people who do not work on or near Parliament Hill and accordingly may have no understanding of what they are in for if the press gallery ever does achieve a state of complete financial purity.

So much for background. At this point, we commence the substance of our lecture.

What has to be understood first is consider

If everybody had to pay full price, which is not the case, the puritan judgmentalism of the press gallery would be absolutely unbearable

ing extreme reaction and judgmentalism among members of the parliamentary press gallery is that it dates from the ending of the practice of letting people receiving national election campaign and/or railway passes. Even in late as the general election of 1983, most of the campaigning was still done by train. It was the custom of the Liberal and Conservative parties, independently of custom, to book a couple of private cars on the railway if it chose for the leader and staff. A third car looked after the press. Press gallery members had only to apply in writing to the railways to get their passes, which covered their basic transportation. They paid for their accommodation aboard the train—chair, upper or lower berth, soapwater, drinking water, according to the provisions and benevolence of their employers.

Things were a little different with the CCF, progenitor of the NDP. The CCF was scarcely covered at all except by the newspaper of the city or town the leader happened to be in, by The Canadian Press staffers whose there were no houses, or, for the rest, by strangers. As the whole of his attendant press corps, I covered a brief swing through Northern Ontario with then-CCF Leader M. J. Coldwell in the 1949 general election campaign sitting up

in a day coach, we each carried our own bags. Parliamentary reporters mostly looked tediously on the perils of life. For a start, the perils were not many: why were two to an office, each with a phone, a desk, a filing cabinet, a shared watercooler and the shared services of a secretary. But there was another factor. Nevertheless that the fear of some-thing hypothetical has never been an absolute barrier to media criticism, the fact that reporters themselves enjoyed free working space, free desks, free typewriters, free notebooks and free pencils with which to write notes that would be transcribed into stories typed on free paper-free plants, free copies of *Hansard*, free parking, free library services, free messenger service and use of the substandard parliamentary restaurants and canteens, bookshops, shoe-shine parlors and health rooms, not to mention the free use of horses to deliver drinks to desk-side—all these things and more had a certain calming effect on the critical faculty at least upon breakfasting.

At that time, even the largest news-gathering organizations—The Canadian Press excepted—submitted to pressures away from Parliament Hill where they would be exposed to the harsh winds of commercialism, which in the long way around of saying that they paid not a cent of rent, not just for a desk at the gallery but anywhere else. It was only when the legislature of the House of Commons and the free market together made sounds of leaving the whole lot driven into the street that a reluctant press converted to the government's converting an old building into a press centre as which the occupants would pay rent.

But it was the ending of the railway passes available on application that started the trouble. There cannot be a media organization today that does not pay rent for all the Hill offices, in the press centre or elsewhere. Most pay a full per cent share of the cost of place on campaign aircraft, prime ministerial flights abroad and similar travels. Free passes provided by foreign government or companies are largely gratefully accepted. Do not give all of this but make the media terribly aware of the possible ethical and/or moral weaknesses of others.

Less than two weeks after The *Hill Times* wrote about the debate press gallery self-reliance, *CF* carried a critical piece containing all that is possible through access to information to obtain details on what makes of cars, in what years, at what prices, were at the government car pool, but not to find who used which car, at what price, at what price—ultimately useful for bringing down moral condemnation on the *Skyline* who drove the expensive cars.

It is perhaps just as well there are still perils to be had in the parliamentary press gallery. If everybody had to pay full price, as is not the case, for phones, desk space, loans, photocopies, *Hansard* and other government publications, library services, use of a parliamentary messengers and restaurant, and, by no means least, 89 reserved, free parking spaces around the Parliament Buildings, the puritan judgmentalism of the press gallery would be absolutely unbearable.



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FILMS

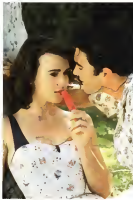
Latin lovers and losers

Two movies explore Hispanic America

Ever since *West Side Story* mixed boogie-woogie and switchblade knives in 1961, Hollywood has tended to portray Hispanic America as a romantic subculture of dance and delinquency. Now, two new movies present stories of Hispanics looking for respect—beyond the sex film and gang leaders in the streets. *The Menzies Kings* an exuberant romance about two Cuban mus-

redemptions by the novelty of the casting. With some deft editing, the film weaves the fictional brothers into an actual episode of the classic action. The *Mambo Kings* relish their 15 minutes of fame, but their success is cut short when they refuse to deal with the mafia of the Latin crime industry.

Ultimately, however, the drama is about internal love betrayed by conflicts over career



Deteniers (left), Banderas romance to a Cuban beat

Wards recovered from the recent crash of *American Me*, *The Menzies Kings* is a movie about Cubans in which none of the stars are Cuban. Armand Assante is an American of Italian descent from New York City. Armasio Banderas is from Spain. Maruchito Deteniers is Dutch. But the actors are utterly convincing. And although the movie lacks the pace of the novel, which is full of wonderfully fast descriptions of sex, it brings to life the music that Hispanics could only describe—with irresistible performances by Latin percussionists Tego Cantor and Cuban duo Crisis Cruz. The film covers just the first half of the book's story, focusing on the brothers' quest for fame and romance after they reach the United States. They are a study in contrasts. Cesar (Assante), the headliner, is an impetuous womanizer, once arrested but then in love. Manu, a trumpeter, is a sensitive, withdrawn, running away for a woman he left behind named Maria.

Cesar handles the bassinet, Neale writes the songs. And he catches the ballad about Maria catches the eye of Desi Arnez, who invites the two *Mambo Kings* to appear in an episode of *I Love Lucy*. Desi Arnez, a portrayer his father, giving a wondrous performance that is

and sincere. When Neale meets and meets Dolores (Deteniers), his brother cannot let her go—she is his own attraction to life. Cesar, meanwhile, pursues a more casual affair with a rags-to-riches girl named Lina (Kathy Moravcsik).

Neale would live up to the novel's motto—or would he?—the book, which is as much a tragedy about the rise and fall of the phallos. But the balance between romance and lust that Hispanics achieve is shown on screen, directed for the first time, producer Arne Gancner, the offbeat and dealer to the

stars, learn to love on a yacht. There are too many slow motion flashbacks of Neale's lost love running through the Caribbean surf like monotonous ripples of a shampoo commercial.

But the key performances survive Gancner's sorry touch. Working in English for the first time, Banderas is a convincing presence. Best known for his work with Spanish director Pedro Almodóvar, notably in the underappreciated romance of *The Nymphs* (1990), he expresses a sad sensitivity as Neale. Banderas' performance, especially, is a relief. During the spotlight after serving as an all-purpose ethnic in a variety of Hollywood movies, he displays the fire and magnetism of a major star.

American Me is another movie by a first-time director. Andrew Jaconi (Cesar, Hollywood's most visible Hispanic actor) crosses. Olmos became famous in the mid-1980s as the iconic police lieutenant in TV's *Miami Vice*. And he received an Oscar nomination for *Stand and Deliver*, in which he starred as a dedicated math teacher in a ghetto school. With *American Me* a sign that spans three generations of a Mexican-American family, Olmos attempts to expose the cruel realities of Hispanic life in Los Angeles, where thousands of school-children carry guns.

Olmos stars as Santana, a ruthless gang leader who tries to win respect for his community through criminal terror. Santana spreads much of the movie in prison, where he controls an underworld network that extends back to the street. The movie shows how prison creates a criminal reputation, how cancer passes from father to son and how children are drawn into the gang world of guns, drugs and tattoos. By the time Santana realizes the folly of his ways, it is too late: the next generation is on its way.

The movie's subtlety is impressive. Olmos persuaded prison authorities at California's Pelican Prison to let him spend three weeks inside its walls, using inmates and guards as extras. But despite its gritty realism and subtle intricacies, *American Me* fails to rehabilitate the traditional formula of the prison movie. The violence, which is both visceral and frequent, verges on exploitation. And the movie becomes a vicious extension into underworld reality.

Olmos makes his thesis clear from the opening scenes, which show sailors brutally beating Mexican Americans in the mid-20s riots of 1943 against broken crime. But before long, the director, like his character, loses sight of the perspective that informs the violence, and the movie crumbles into hand tragedy. While *The Menzies Kings* offers a nostalgic glimpse of an epicenter of racism, *American Me* is empowered by its own dire realism.

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The gang that Meech begot

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

In the never-ending mission to save the nation, a 125-year-old habit perpetually on the edge of self-annihilation, one should ignore the obvious signs of demagoguery. Glorify the paperwork. The predictable kidnapping of the barnyard. God eat an eye on the March Lake documents. The Meech report. The Spicer papers, the incoherently incoherent Deane-Borden tablets handed down from on high.

Watch the players instead. Real issues begin, those who make the decisions. Demagogues must win. The quarterback make the decisions.

The most telling hoop language in our current angst, coming in the ornate trappings of the National Assembly in Quebec City, is the Liberal government, in a rare moment of as-sent, preparing to vote with the Parti Québécois demagogues (what else?) of the unacceptable findings of the gory sector called Beaudette and the harassed and confused rookie ter called Doobee.

Just before the vote is called, Robert Bourassa, from his front bench, and vacated the pressure, as if a sudden call of nature had activated him. There was, naturally, the later explanation that he had a pressing engagement elsewhere—a politician's "pressing engagement elsewhere" the equivalent of why you want to have their mouths washed out with soap—and that to prevent he didn't obviously use an such theoretical necessity.

Oh-ya? We will forget him his absence. In fact we will applaud his absence. It signifies for any reader of the entire constitutional Doo-goo—that that is precisely he didn't obviously cut a new lead.

A shrewd observer of the constitutional marshes—surely the most boring spectacle since the stately bicycle races in Madison Square Garden in the 1880s—has observed that Bob-Bo (as the Quebec press derisively calls him) has been in the most absurd Canadian political since Markham King (the boxer-like cutie who is equally derided by Anglo-Canadians).

Bob-Bo has been in a state of mind, a loose fact. Bound by law—has own law, unless he



wasn't too far from his own law—to call a referendum on separation by referendum, he now must focus instead what Joe Maloney calls the best entreatment to Quebec since Confederation and what Denis Clark says is the final offer, final, and nothing else.

That is why Bourassa, who has made the greatest comeback from political disaster since Richard Nixon started lecturing George Bush on world statecraft, gets up and walks before the vote—so he can throw a small walk to Don Getty, who is galloping out there on the point; live with with (right) in the thought of Prestif Manning.

He knows that there is fax in the land, drama on the Rideau, as well as in the city that Jim Larkin's cowboy can never lose. (What's the difference between Mrs. Larkin and a pit bull?) Larkin, Curlew Quebec (aka) Larkin) he knows that Joe Maloney's Quebec chief, Benoît Boivin, had to be hauled back from

the Florida sands to help Brian Clark meet a united front.

He knows that the Maloney crowd has no idea how to deal with the wild-card minister Marcel Meese, who stands up on his hind legs and says flatly that the DMF essential—a not coming from Meese as the DM suggests—is a flat chick that needs more graft.

Bob-Bo, who can read, observes the delighted Toronto press response to the ramped Meech's Rachel who ventures to the Big Lemon to publish its book-length version of his celebrated New Yorker article that so enraged transcriptions in Meese's law firm. And here is the St. Louis box with such a little too close to the line, taking attention that the Québécois desperation is not about language at all, but about a declining birthrate. And that the only way the province can renew a base of French-speaking residents is to import immigrants—those from Provence not likely to rush to Châteaufort—from Algeria, Morocco and elsewhere.

"God help us," Meech tells every microphone and notebook, "when the first Meese paper arrives across Trans-Canada." This is a denton hard to accommodate—especially when it's true.

As everyone in Meese's law firm (as Bob-Bo knows) this turkey trot will go on and on, there being no need to call out the militia just yet. There are further Meese's Law to come, as pointed as this is to predict and indeed, pre-empted and ignored takes to be made known in history for the fact they were the ones where 11 men in suits spent yet another all-night session—fueled by coffee, cancer sticks and Confederate stamps—wrestled with the caplains, pushed the pillow, and to call jelly to the wall.

Robert Bourassa, Madame King's carnel here on the other side of the cultural wall, is famous for his private notes that of Quebec asked is to dip out of Canada, he is going to be the premier who don't it (and Jacques Parizeau as his future minister).

He is a Liberal, supposedly. Joe Maloney is a Conservative, supposedly. There is a map on that Ma Bell still has opening wires between 24 Sussex and the National Assembly. Those guys have more hands than three-thal poker.

Between Marcel Meese, who is Maloney does not sack, Bob-Bo Bourassa, who values the dinner card, and Meese, who will be buried in chips (though not to) (for Carleton) but when his book is published, we shall proceed. Trust me.

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